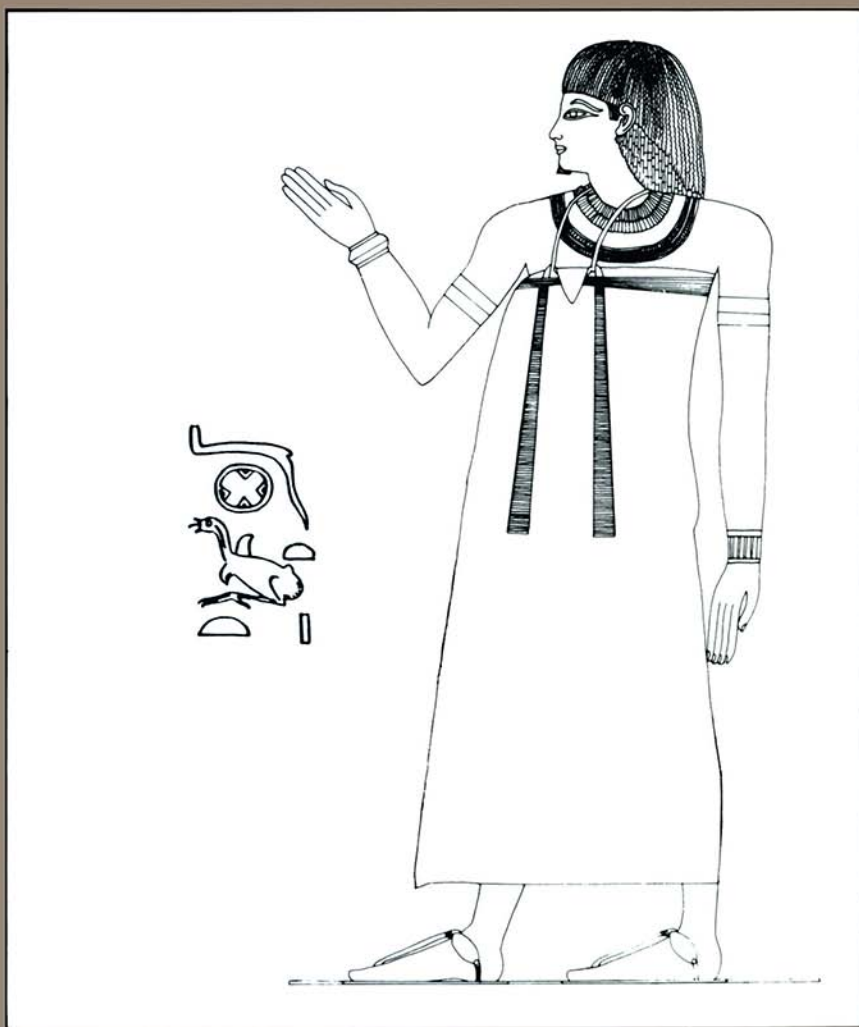


The Duties of the Vizier

Civil Administration in
the Early New Kingdom



G.P.F. van den Boorn

The Duties of the Vizier

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 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published in 1988 by Kegan Paul International Limited

This edition published 2013 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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ISBN 0 7103 0330-0

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This monography is a slightly revised and corrected version of a dissertation presented to the State University of Leiden in June 1987. It is with great pleasure that I take this opportunity to thank all those who have contributed to this book, in whatever manner or capacity. I feel sure that without their assistance this study would never have been completed.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to Prof dr. Jac. J. Janssen. First as my teacher and afterwards as my promotor and partner in countless discussions, he helped me past many of The Duties' pitfalls with his keen interest, profound knowledge and typically disenchanting sense of reality.

I am also indebted to Prof. W. Helck from Hamburg and Prof. H.J.M. Claessen, Prof. H.W. Pleket and Prof. K.R. Veenhof of Leiden University for the time and effort they invested in reading and discussing the ms. and for their questions and comments during the academic promotion ceremony.

I owe special thanks to Prof. H.D. Schneider, my director in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden, for the deep personal interest he took in my study and for his consent to work on the ms. whenever my other tasks in the museum allowed me to.

My thanks are due to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and in particular to its Curator of the Egyptian Department, Dr. Christine Lilyquist, for the generous permission to incorporate the pertinent plates of Davies's *editio princeps* in the present volume.

My sincere thanks also go to Dr. Michael Green for the tedious task he kindly shouldered of polishing my "Dutch" English and for his permission to read and use the ms. of his monograph on the ancestors of the Coptic *SHARE* pattern.

I am indebted to Dr. Eberhard Dziobek from München for his permission to consult parts of the ms. he has prepared on Ineni's Theban tomb. I also thank Dr. Claude Traunecker for his generous permission to use the results of his forthcoming article on a new "Taxation-list" found on *talatat* from Karnak.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my sister-in-law, Mrs. Marijke Dreuw-Frissen, whose expert hands have taken the ms. through the intricacies of modern word-processing equipment. It is impossible to compensate for the time and effort she invested in this book so generously.

I take this opportunity to thank also my old friend Drs. Louis Zonhoven of the Institute of Egyptology of Leiden University. Our countless discussions on topics of mutual interest left their unmistakable traces on a great many pages of this study.

I am grateful to Mr. Peter Hopkins, Chairman of Routledge and Kegan Paul KPI Ltd., London, and in particular to Dr. Vivian Davies, Deputy Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum, London, and editor of the KPI series "Studies in Egyptology", for their generous offer to publish a sales-edition of this dissertation in the aforementioned series.

Last but definitely not least I thank my wife. My debt to her is of a different order. Only intimate friends and colleagues are able to assess the invaluable support and true feeling of partnership she gave me all these last years.

Finally, this seems to be the appropriate place to add a technical remark concerning the book in its present form. Exigencies of word-processing software demanded that the customary writing of the 'ayin as ^c should be replaced by the accent '.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The citation of periodicals follows the model of the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography* (AEB). Listed below are those studies that have been used more than once in the present study. Those only used once receive full reference at the appropriate place.

- OK - Old Kingdom
- FIP - First Intermediate Period
- MK - Middle Kingdom
- SIP - Second Intermediate Period
- NK - New Kingdom
- TIP - Third Intermediate Period
- LP - Late Period

- Adams, *Nubia* : W.Y. Adams, *Nubia. Corridor to Africa*, 2nd ed., London 1984.
- Adm.* : A.H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden*, Leipzig 1909.
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Note

The study by D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, Toronto 1986, became available to us in December 1986, too late to be used throughout in this book. Only in its final parts it was possible to include an occasional reference to this basic study. SAK 13 (1986) reached Leiden in March 1987, too late to include the article by W. Helck, "Der Aufstand des Tetian", in the analysis of our chapter 4.

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INTRODUCTION

Some hundred years ago Philippe Virey wrote his *Le tombeau de Rekhmara* (Paris 1889), one of the first attempts to publish an Egyptian tomb. The tomb itself had been known since the beginning of the century and the splendor of its decoration had already attracted a good many visitors from Europe and America ¹. Virey's publication added to its fame in that it disclosed the fact that the tomb contained a number of hitherto unknown texts. One of them was described by Virey as: "Rekhmara expédie les affaires du gouvernement" ².

Within a span of no more than two decades this text became widely known in Egyptology. Several improved copies were made. New publications appeared and parallel versions were discovered in other viziral tombs of the Theban necropolis ³. The interest taken in the text at that time cannot be better illustrated than by referring to the words of Breasted in 1906. In his judgement it was "the most important inscription on the organization of the state under the Eighteenth Dynasty" ⁴. It was this American scholar who designated the text as *The Duties of the Vizier*.

Scholars of later generations have all shared his view. To quote just one assessment: "c'est le traité administratif le plus complet et le plus précis que l'histoire égyptienne nous ait livré" (E. Drioton and J. Vandier) ⁵.

With the discovery of the Paser-version in January 1928 the corpus of parallel versions from Thebes, as we know it today, was complete. Virey had disclosed the text in the 18th dyn. tomb of Rekhmire (TT no. 100), Newberry had discovered the versions in the 18th dyn. tombs of User (TT no. 131) and Amenemopet (TT no. 29), and finally Anthes added the version from the 19th dyn. tomb of Paser (TT no. 106). Now, one would perhaps have expected their publications to initiate a thorough study of the text in accordance with its acknowledged value and interest. Egyptology was only too eager to enter new fields of research in those days. In retrospect one can only say that the opposite turned out to be true.

Apart from a number of sparsely annotated translations, only one small, separate study was published, viz. Farina's contribution of 1916. It is rather astonishing to find that the situation was in fact never reversed in later years. Various translations have been given in this century. Its sentences and passages are widely quoted in literature and no handbook seems to be complete without the

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- 1 For lit. on the history of the tomb, see below p. 7.
 - 2 Virey, *Rekhmara*, 19-25; Pl. II. He notes (p. 19 n. 1) that the text was not recognized by Champollion.
 - 3 For a survey of publications, see below p. 4ff.
 - 4 BAR II, 270.
 - 5 *L'Égypte*, 458.

assertion – but no more than that – that the text is of prime importance. The plain fact remains that "The Duties of the Vizier" (in this study abbreviated as "The Duties") has never been studied for its own sake since 1916.

From its discovery it has become increasingly clear that The Duties is unique in Egyptian literature. Its form, nature and purport are attested nowhere else. A profound study could provide an integrated survey of the details and the main aspects of the office of the vizier, the chief civil function in the Egyptian state. The text offers the unparalleled opportunity to study the range, the character and the essence of the activities of the first civil official of Egypt. Whereas other sources in general only illustrate one aspect or one detail of "the vizier at work" in often isolated contexts, here we have a document that seems to offer an integral and coherent picture of the office. No other office in Egypt's long history can lay claim to a comparable and fortunate privilege.

The vizirate is generally understood to have been the chief civil office in the Egyptian state, from its very beginning up to the beginning of our era. The basic confirmation of this view is to be found in The Duties. The professed aim of our monograph is the attempt to meet the demand of a detailed study of this text. For the sake of clarity we may add that the study will be undertaken from a historian's point of view.

The book sets out to determine content, nature and purport of The Duties in a proper historical context. In order to achieve our goal we will have to deal with a varied complex of interrelated problems. In view of the numerous, often widely diverging renderings, the primary task is to establish as correct a translation and interpretation as possible. We will have to comment on its form, structure and division because it has been assumed that the text is void of structure and in fact amounts to no more than "a *mélange* of disconnected statements" ⁶. In addition, a large number of separate factors will have to be analysed, e.g. peculiar orthography and lexicography, grammar and syntax, archaizing tendencies, titles, so-called "lacunae" in content, and the text's NK tradition. From the turn of the century its date of composition, and thus its original place in Egyptian history, has been a vexed problem. Common scholarly opinion has it that The Duties was composed in the 13th dyn. (MK) ⁷. The problem of its historical background will have to engage us, therefore, throughout the entire study. Once a plausible suggestion has been made on the subject, we can enter the discussion of the type and motive of the composition and attempt to assess value and validity of the information supplied by the text.

6 Quotation from James, PP, 68 (as the most recent spokesman on the subject).

7 For the main advocates of this view and their argument, see the discussion in Van den Boorn, Date, 369ff. For the principal analysis, see below chapter 4.

Ultimately, the present study aims to present a coherent picture of the vizier's activities and of the internal government of Egypt, based on *The Duties* and placed in the particular history of the early NK. It is our hope that the book may contribute to an understanding of this unique and all-important composition and its setting. After a century of rather quiescent existence in Egyptology we feel that *The Duties* deserves the effort to grasp its true nature and content.

EDITIONS, STUDIES AND TRANSLATIONS

1. EDITIONS

The first edition of The Duties is found in Ph. Virey, *Le tombeau de Rekhmara*, Paris 1889. On Pl. II he gives his copy of the version in Rekhmire's tomb. A peculiar fact is that he provided the text with three extra columns, viz. cols. *R37-*R39. They were cancelled by Newberry and Sethe recognized them to be the caption to the scene of "the receipt of taxes by the southern towns"¹.

Virey's copy was republished by E. Revillout in *Revue Égyptologique* 7 (1892), 90-100 without further additions or improvements.

In 1900 P. Newberry published his *The Life of Rekhmara*, Westminster 1900. His copy on Pl. II-III, made with the assistance of Spiegelberg, shows major improvements as compared with Virey's attempt. He was the first to observe the parallel versions in the tombs of User and Amenemopet, but he did not incorporate them in his edition of Rekhmire's version except for a list of main variants (o.c., p. 25-6).

In his valuable compilation of 18th dyn. texts *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, Berlin 1907 (= Urk IV), K. Sethe published the Rekhmire-version (Urk IV, 1103,14 - 1117,5 in the rev. ed. of 1927/1930). In footnotes he added the main variants from the two other known versions.

It was G. Farina who published the User- and Amenemopet-versions. They appeared in his "Le funzioni del visir faraonico sotto la XVIII dinastia", (a lengthy article or small monograph) in: *Rendiconti della Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Serie Quinta. Vol. XXV*, Roma 1916, p. 923-74, with the texts on folding plates labelled A and B.

The fourth parallel version from the 19th dyn. tomb of Paser was established by R. Anthes, with assistance of Borchardt, Seele and Schott. His article "Ein unbekanntes Exemplar der Dienstordnung des Wesiers" in: *Mélanges Maspero I. Orient Ancien*, Le Caire 1935-1938, p. 155-163 gives the meagre remains of this version.

In 1944 the *editio princeps* of the Rekhmire tomb was published by the expert epigrapher N. de Garis Davies. On Pl. XXVI-XXVIII of his *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' at Thebes*, New York 1944 (repr.

¹ Urk IV, 1119,16 - 1120,11 = Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. XXIX:1 (cf. Pl. XLVII:3).

New York 1973, two vols in one) he gives a facsimile of the text (the first to be published!), that still stands out as a monument of epigraphic skill. On Pl. CXIX–CXXII he provides a collation of the Rekhmire-version with the three other versions in TT no. 29, 106, 131. Since his work cannot be improved upon (personal observation in summer 1985 confirmed this fact), his facsimile and collation will serve as the basis for the present analysis. The pertinent plates from his publication are reproduced at the end of this volume.

Finally, K. Kitchen republished the Paser-version in his *Ramesside Inscriptions I*, Oxford 1975 (= KRI I), p. 290,13 – 291,10 set in parallel with the relevant sentences from the Rekhmire-version.

2. STUDIES

Only one separate study has appeared (1916). Farina's publication (see paragraph 1) contains a translation with commentary and an attempt to understand the historical background of the text.

3. TRANSLATIONS

A first attempt to translate *The Duties* was made by Virey (see paragraph 1). Failing to recognize the retrograde way of writing², he translated the text backwards!

The right order was established by Revillout in his rendering in Rev. Ég. 7 (see paragraph 1). He commented on his translation in a second article called "Supplément aux données juridiques des inscriptions de Rexmara sur les transmissions héréditaires", in: Revue Égyptologique 8 (1897), 139–177 with excerpts from the Rekhmire-version on p. 177–192.

Newberry's edition (see paragraph 1) incorporated a partial rendering of the text in the form of a "Summary".

While not constituting a translation *stricto sensu* it is interesting to point out G. Maspero's review of Newberry's edition in *Journal des Savants*, sept. 1900, p. 534–547, where several corrections are suggested in an attempt to improve the understanding.

The first real translation – after the attempts of Virey, Revillout and Newberry – was given by H. Breasted in his *Ancient Records of Egypt II*, New York 1906, §§. 671–711. He added some explanatory footnotes.

Twenty-eight years later Davies gave a translation in his edition of Rekhmire's tomb (see paragraph 1). A few footnotes were

² On the subject, see below ch. 2.7 (1).

meant to complement his sometimes rather free translation ³.

A Russian translation was published by W.W. Struwe in 1950 in his *Chrestomatija po istorii Drevnego Mira*, Moscow 1950. We have not been able to consult this study ⁴. A German edition of this work appeared in 1959 under the title *Geschichte der Alten Welt, Chrestomathie. Band I* (bearb. von F. Hintze, und W. Westendorf), Berlin 1959 with our text on p. 109-115.

A new drive behind the interest taken in The Duties came when W. Helck published his all-important study *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, Leiden 1958. On p. 29-40 he gives a translation with cursory notes. He adds a rather extensive list of textcritical remarks on p. 40-43 n. 1. The importance of this study is - amongst many other things - that The Duties is now incorporated for the first time into an analysis of the MK and NK administration. Throughout the book The Duties is used to illustrate the writer's view on the MK administration. Helck advocates a date of composition in the 13th dyn. (cf. o.c., p. 2 n. 1).

Posthumously a study by I.M. Lurje was published in 1960. It is entitled *Očerki drevneegipetskogo prava XVI-X vekov do n.e.*, Leningrad 1960 (ed. M.E. Mathieu). The second part of this monograph contains a large number of translations of legal texts including The Duties ⁵. Unfortunately, the study was unavailable to us. When in 1971 a German translation of Lurje's book was published, the second part with translations was not included (I.M. Lurje, *Studien zum Altägyptischen Recht*, Weimar 1971; intr. by S. Allam) ⁶.

In 1980 J.J. Perepelkin provided another Russian translation in: M.A. Korostovcev (e.a.), *Chrestomatija po istorii drevnego vostoka*, Moskau 1980, p. 74-78. Again, we have not been able to trace the book ⁷.

The year 1984 yielded two more translations. The first was by T.G.H. James in *Pharaoh's People, Scenes from Life in Imperial Egypt*, London-Sydney-Toronto 1984. On p. 62-67 he gives a rendering of large parts of the text excluding the cols. R1-R3 and R33-R36. The chapter with the translation (viz. ch. 2, "The Vizir and his Role") incorporates some valuable comments on the

³ We note his ref. to a copy of the text made by Gardiner as early as 1910 (o.c., p. 88; 85); cf. Gardiner, ZÄS 60 (1925), 62.

⁴ The ref. is given by Lurje, SAR, 172. There may have been a previous Russian translation by B.A. Turajew (1920). Lurje's ref. (SAR, 28 n. 4) is obscure.

⁵ Cf. Orloff, CdE XXXVI no. 71 (1961), 342-6; AEB 60456.

⁶ Cf. Lurje, SAR, 10; compare p. 172 (3). AEB 71379.

⁷ Apparently not even included in the AEB.

nature and background of the text.

As far as we know, the most recent translation is by U. Luft in: A. Burkhardt, E. Blumenthal, I. Müller, W.F. Reineke (eds.), *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Uebersetzung zu den Heften 5-16*, Berlin 1984, p. 435-440. As indicated by the title, it concerns a translation of Sethe's Urk IV (see paragraph 1). Some of the 13 footnotes provide new suggestions and minor improvements.

The ancient and modern history of the four NK tombs that contain The Duties will not concern us in this book. For notes and remarks on the subject the reader is referred to the studies by Virey, Newberry, Davies and Anthes quoted above (1). In addition he may consult i.a., Sethe, *Einsetzung*, 1-4; Gardiner, *ZÄS* 60 (1925), 62; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 436ff; id., *Wsr*, 107-10; Hornung, *Grabkammer*, passim; id., *ZÄS* 92 (1966), 75-6; Giddy, in: *Livre Cent. IFAO*, 119-25; Faulkner, *JEA* 41 (1955), 18; *AEL* II, 21; *PM I* Pt. 1 s.v. TT nos.

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CHAPTER 1

THE TEXT:

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

1. INTRODUCTION

The text is divided into sections, i.e. self-contained units each subdivided into two or more sentences. Each section deals with its own subject-matter (for further remarks, see chapter 2.5.1). Our translation and commentary will follow the text's division into sections. Each section-heading conforms to a single pattern. It has the following layout.

Section X R... – R...

Each section has been given its own no. and covers a (number of) column(s) of the Rekhmire-version of The Duties (cited as R + number of column).

Pl. 00;00

Here the reader is referred to the plates at the end of the present volume. They reproduce the pertinent plates in the *editio princeps* of the R-version in Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. XXVI–XXVIII; CXIX–CXXII.

- Pl. 1–3 : Davies' facsimile of the R-version
Pl. 4–7 : Davies' collation of the R-version with the versions:
 of User (cited as W) in TT no. 131
 of Amenemopet (cited as A) in TT no. 29
 of Paser (cited as P) in TT no. 106.

I

The two main editions of The Duties are given here:

- Davies – refers to Davies, *Rekhmire*.
Urk IV – refers to the text as given by Sethe. Although less reliable, we have included the edition for easy reference. The reader should always check Davies' publication for definitive readings.

II

Sigla have been used to designate the main translations. We have excluded the publications of Virey, Revillout and Newberry because they are either completely outdated or do not constitute translations *stricto sensu*. As said before, the Russian translations of Lurje and Perepelkin were not available to us.

B – Breasted	H – Helck
F – Farina	J – James
D – Davies	L – Luft
S – Struwe	

For the pertinent publications, see paragraph 3 of the previous chapter.

III

Various studies are presented here that incorporate translated sentences, passages or phrases from *The Duties*. We want to stress that we do not consider the list to be exhaustive.

Transliteration

Under this heading the R-version of *The Duties* has been transliterated. Throughout the study this version has been used as the main source because it is the most complete version. Whenever there occur lacunae in R, the other versions W, A and P have been consulted. They are indicated separately in the transliteration. Uncertainties in R are again checked by means of the parallel versions, if parallel text is available. In case of lacunae in R, the most complete and reliable parallel version has been used to supplement R. The versions W, A and P have not been transliterated except when needed.

Variants

This entry contains the main variants in orthography, phrasing, lexicography etc. of the versions W, A and P as compared with R. Minor differences have not been included.

Translation

As a rule the translation supplied is from the R-version. Additions from other versions are not indicated separately because they have been pointed out in the transliteration.

Notes on Structure and Text Division

Here general observations are made on the structure and division of the section under discussion, as well as on its relationship with comparable aspects of other sections, when needed.

2. THE SECTIONS

SECTION 1 R1 – R3

Pl. 1; 4

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVI, 1–3; CXIX, 1–3
Urk IV, 1103,14 – 1104,16 | |
| II | B, 273
F, 925–30
D, 31 (part of R1), 89
S, 110 | H, 30–1
J, 62 (1st part of R1)
L, 435–6 |
| III | Allam, in: <i>St. Westendorf</i> , 449
Wilson, in: <i>ANET</i> , 213–4
Hassan, <i>Stöcke und Stabe</i> , 185
Valloggia, <i>Messagers</i> , 94
Helck, <i>SAK</i> 3 (1975), 100–1 | R1–R3
R1–R3
R1–R2
R2–R3
part of R2 |

TRANSLITERATION

- R1 *tp-rd n ḥmst* a) *n ḫmy-r nṯwt t3ty n nṯwt rst n ḥnw m ḥ3 n t3ty; ṛr ṛrt nbt p3 sr t3ty ḥr sdm m ḥ3 n t3ty, ḥms.f ḥr pḥdw, ḵn ḥr s3tw, šnp ḥr.f, šd ḥr psd.f, šd ḥr rdwy.f, [] ḥr.f,*
- R2 'b3 *r-'.f,* b) *šsmw* 40 *sš(w) m-b3ḥ.f,* b) *wrw-md-šm'w* c) *m-ṛtrty* d) *m-b3ḥ.f,* b) *ḫmy-r 'ḥnwty ḥr wnm.f,* b) *ṛry-ḥt-'ḵ ḥr ṛ3b.f, sšw n t3ty r-'.f; w' ggw n w' m s nb r-'ḵ3.f, sdm(w) w' ḥr-s3 snnw.f nn rdṛt sdm(w) ḥr(y)-ph* e) *r-ḥ3t*
- R3 *ḥry; ṛr dd ḥry* f): *nn sdm nb r-'.ṛ, ḥr.t(w) ndr.t(w).f ṛn wpwtyw n t3ty.*

VARIANTS

a) Whereas in A1 *ḥmst* has the usual determinative of the

- man-sitting-on-heel (Signlist A3) ¹, in R1 the verb is represented by Davies (Pl. 4) as having an interesting determinative of an official-sitting-on-a-throne-with-legs. The facsimile (Pl. 1) is undecisive.
- b) In the enumeration of col. 2, A2 four times interjects the non-enclitic particle *hr* indicating a continuation of the list (GEG, § 239).
 - c) The orthography of the title *wr-md-šm'w* in R2 and A2 shows a considerable difference, cf. *Verwaltung*, 41; 53.
 - d) The phrase *m-itrty* in R2 is absent in A2.
 - e) A3 leaves out *ph*.
 - f) In A3 *hry* is preceded by *p3*. For its use and meaning in the text, see below p. 23.

TRANSLATION

- R1 Instruction ¹ for the session ² of the governor of the city ³, the vizier of the Southern City and of the Residence ⁴ in the bureau of the vizier ⁵. As for every act ⁶ of the (aforementioned) ⁷ official, ⁸ the vizier, when hearing ⁹ (cases) in the bureau of the vizier, has to sit ¹⁰ on the *phw*-chair ¹¹, the reed-covered dais ¹² on the ground, the vestment ¹³ on him, a leather cushion under his back, a leather cushion under his feet ¹⁴, the[¹⁵] on him,
- R2 the 'b3-scepter ¹⁶ beside ¹⁷ him, the forty leather rods ¹⁸ spread out ¹⁹ in front ²⁰ of him, ²¹ the great ones of the ten of Upper Egypt ²² in two rows ²³ in front of ²⁰ him, the chamberlain ²⁴ on his right-hand side, the curator of the access ²⁵ on his left-hand side, the scribes of the vizier ²⁶ beside ¹⁷ him. While one stands rigid fixedly facing ²⁷ the one opposite ²⁸ to him amongst everyone (present at the session), one has to be heard after the other ²⁹ without allowing the low (ranking official) to be heard before
- R3 the high (ranking official) ³⁰. If (however) the high (ranking official) says: "No one beside ¹⁷ me is to be heard ³¹", (then) he shall be arrested ³² by the messengers of the vizier ³³.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

Before providing a commentary to the preceding translation we have to deal with a phenomenon that, as far as we know, has gone unnoticed so far. The text of sections 1-5 (R1 - R13) appears to present itself according to strict morphological patterns. The

¹ E.g. Davies, Pl. XXIV,1; Horemheb, right, 6 (Kruchten, DH, 148 (c)); compare Helck, *Wsr*, 108, l. 1 (sitting man); for the elaborate determinative, see Gardiner JEA 38 (1952), PL. II, l. 1 (king on *hwt*-throne); cf. p. 25.

fundament on which these patterns rest is the sentence, which may have varying length. It can consist of a main clause, or a main clause plus subordinate clause(s).

Section 1 appears to consist of three parts. Part 1 is the first sentence of the text (R1: *tp-rd...h3 n t3ty*). It serves as the title to the whole text, while actually it only refers to the contents of section 1. Part 2 is a description of the ceremonial setting of the viziral session, introduced by the formula *ir irt...h3 n t3ty*. Part 3 deals with a violation of the session-procedure by participating officials (R2-R3: *w' gg(w)...wpwty n t3ty*).

In part 2 we encounter for the first time definite literary styling in the way nominal sentences are grouped into units of two. The constituent elements of the units show a close similarity in set-up to each other; they use the same clause layout and the same prepositions. Moreover, the tenor of their content shows a strong resemblance to each other. A graphic arrangement of part 2 may illustrate our contention (Fig. 1).

It seems evident that the balanced rhythm of this part of section 1 is caused by deliberate literary styling. The following units emerge: 2-3, 4-5, 8-9, 10-11. Nos. 7 and 12 clearly constitute one unit; from this we may infer that 1 and 6 also formed a unit. The result is a double scheme consisting of 3 groups of units of 2 clauses. A similar scheme is found when sections 2-3 are taken together (see below p. 43).

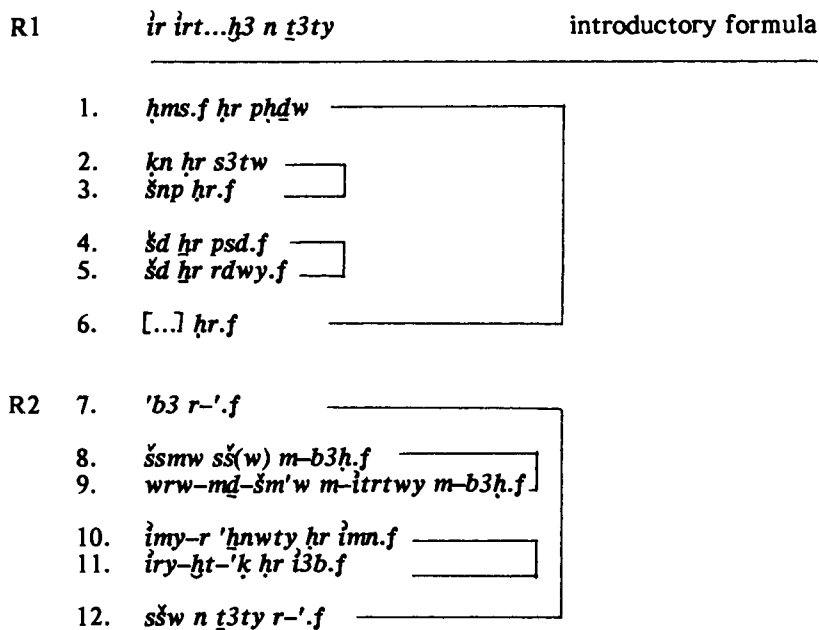


Fig. 1
The structure of part 2 of section 1

After (the stylized) part 2 of section 1 there follows the description of a case of official misconduct in part 3 that appears to be void of stylization. The same phenomenon – a stylized part of a section followed by a unstylized part – is found in section 5 below. This section 5 terminates a first division of our text. In the same way as the introductory formula *ir irt...* in section 1 serves to introduce the stylized first Part of our text, the formula introduces in section 6 the second Part (on this matter, see below p. 121).

It is quite obvious, therefore, that the literary pattern found in part 2 of section 1 is not an isolated feature. It illustrates the author's intention to provide the first Part of our text (viz. sections 1-5, R1-R13) with clear and recognisable style patterns.

As will be shown below (p. 43; 78; 89), sections 2-5 are provided with comparable stylistic patterns. Main feature will turn out to be – as in part 2 of section 1 – the unit comprising a set of sentences, two or more units constituting one section of the text. These patterns will be indicated separately each time.

I am well aware that in defining these patterns I enter the complicated field of literary form and will find myself confronted with the results of recent and current research, viz. the theories and suggestions of Fecht, Foster, Lichtheim, Burkard ². However, in my view, a comparative analysis of these patterns would go far beyond the scope of this monograph, which aims primarily at dealing with the text from a historian's point of view. Here it may suffice to state that a text which up to now has been considered a document, which in a dry, monotonous and sometimes rather chaotic way lists the various tasks of a vizier, appears to be provided in various parts with definite literary styling. This bare fact lifts the text from the level of a mere catalogue to that of a literary prose composition. I leave it to others to decide on the nature of the form(s) involved.

COMMENTARY

1. *tp-rd* – This noun, recurring in R24 (*tp-rd n mš'*) and possibly in R11 (see p. 110), is usually rendered as "instruction(s), regulation(s)" (cf. Wb V, 288-90; FCD, 297). Its basic notion can be paraphrased as "directive on the basic/guiding principles" ³ of i.a. acts ⁴, skills

² For a synthesis and critical assessment of the theories, see the penetrating article of Burkard, SAK 10 (1983), 79-118. Note his distinction of "literarischen Prosa" as a genre next to Foster's verse literature (o.c. p. 104; 117).

³ Cf. e.g. Installation R8 (Davies, Pl. XIV,8 with p. 87; Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 22): *mk ibw pw n sr irt ht hft tp-rd m irt qddwt*, "See, the magistrate's safeguard is it to act in accordance with instructions, in doing what has been said!"; Davies, *Kenamun*, Pl. VIII,14: *in iw didi tp-rd n rh n Pth*, "Shall direction for knowledge be given to Ptah?". Note O.DeM 1610,1-2: *tp-rd n t3 mhw šm'w*, cf. Borghouts, CdE 56, no. 111 (1981), 65 with n. 8. See Loret, RdE 6 (1951), 9-10 on the

and knowledge ⁵, jobs or offices ⁶, procedures ⁷. It can be issued to one person ⁸ or to a group ⁹, by for instance officials ¹⁰ or – regularly – by the king ¹¹. The implicitly unequal status of the issuer and the receiver of a *tp-rd* is sometimes formulated in a more explicit way ¹². The fact that the term is often mentioned in connection with the term *hp* equally testifies to the notion of authority inherent to *tp-rd* ¹³. A *tp-rd* can be transmitted orally ¹⁴, i.a. by a *wpwty*, "messenger" ¹⁵.

Like the *tp-rd* in the Installation-text ¹⁶, the *tp-rd n hmst* in R1 may be regarded as an instruction on formal session-procedure issued to the vizier by the king. It serves as the title to the whole text, though actually it only pertains to section 1.

possible origin of the term. On the construction *tp(+n)X*, "manner, convention, customary way", see Malinine, *Choix*, 39–40 (11); Černý, BIFAO 30 (1931), 493 n. 7; Vernus, RdE 33 (1981), 110–1 (b).

- 4 E.g., *tp-rd n 'h3*, Wb V, 288,9; Grimal, *Pi*, 117 n. 341; KRI II, 11,14.
- 5 E.g. Urk IV, 976, 17 (shooting), cf. Davies, 86 n. 37; Wb V, 289,6 (education); Davies, Pl. LX,11 with p. 55 (supervision); Davies, *Kenamun*, Pl. VIII,14 (knowledge).
- 6 E.g. Installation, RIV+1 (Davies, Pl. XIV; p. 85; Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 18); Urk IV, 1148,14; Davies, Pl. LX,11 with p. 55; Wb V, 288,7. Lurje, SAR, 130–1 goes too far in ascribing a specific *tp-rd* to every kind of office.
- 7 E.g. Duties, R1; processions, compare Loret, RdE 6 (1951), 9–10; Wb V, 288,8;12; 289,3.
- 8 E.g. Duties, R11; Installation, RIV (Davies, Pl. XIV; p. 85); P. Anastasi IV, 14, 8–9 (LEM, 50,16 – 51,2; CLEM, 199).
- 9 E.g. Duties, R24; Urk IV, 1148,14; Davies, Pl. LX,11 with p. 55; Lurje, SAR, 131 n. 21; Wb V, 288,7; Urk IV, 482,1; CCG 20571.
- 10 E.g. Davies, Pl. LX,11 with p. 55; Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 416 (G8.87); Urk IV, 482,1; CCG 20571.
- 11 E.g. Davies, Pl. XVI,12 with p. 17; Horemheb, right, 1.4 (Kruchten, DH, 148; 154–5); Davies, *Amarna VI*, Pl. 19 (cf. Valloggia, *Messagers*, 107–8); Installation, RIV+1 (Davies, Pl. XIV; p. 85); Urk IV, 749, 14; 348,10; James, CHIBM, Pl. LXVIII: 256A (with p. 114); Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 416 (G8.87).
- 12 E.g. Installation, R8 (Davies, Pl. XIV,8; p. 87; Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 22); Davies, *Kenamun*, Pl. VIII,14. Compare *Adm.*, 11,4.
- 13 E.g. Davies, Pl. XVI,12 with p. 17; James, CHIBM, Pl. LXVIII: 256A (p. 114); Urk IV, 749,14; 1095,10; Varille, *Amenhotep*, 35 1.9 with p. 40; Horemheb, right, 1.4 (Kruchten, DH, 148; 154–5); cf. Lurje, SAR, 130–1; Wb V, 288, 2–4. For *hp*, see section 8.
- 14 Installation RIV+1 (Davies, Pl. XIV; p. 85–6); Horemheb, right, 1.4 (Kruchten, DH, 148; 154–5).
- 15 Duties, R11 (cf. p. 110); Davies, *Amarna VI*, Pl. 19 (cf. Valloggia, *Messagers*, 107–8).
- 16 Cf. note 11; Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 18; 28; Sethe, *Einsetzung*, 12 n. 49a; Gardiner, RT 26 (1904), 8.

2. *hmst* - Infinitive of the verb *hmsi*, "to sit", used - as often - in its extended meaning "to sit/sitting (to conduct official business in public)", i.e. "session" ¹⁷. In contemporary texts *hmst* is used for sessions of the king ¹⁸ and of officials ¹⁹. The solemn nature of the session seems to be expressed here in the use of an elaborate determinative showing an official seated on a chair with legs ²⁰. Conducting one's affairs in a seated position was (and still is!) the mark *par excellence* of status and standing ²¹. Official acts, such as the "Berufung" of the vizier User, the installation of the steward Kenamun, the reception of the Punt expedition or the expression of thanks by Tuthmosis III to Amun (Festival Hall), were performed in a *hmst*, "session" ²². The present session is illustrated in the tomb of Rekhmire by a scene immediately to the right of The Duties (Davies, Pl. XXIV-V; cf. Pl. XLVII,3).
In view of the description of the session-procedure following in R1-2 one may note stela CCG 20571, 3-4: *ḏiḏi tp-rd n smrw m irt 'h'w hmst*, "(imy-r 'hntwy n ḥ3 n imy-r ḥtm) who gives instructions to the courtiers to form the attendance of a session" ²³. A similar statement to the courtiers (*tp-rd*) issued by the (northern) vizier occurs i.a. in the 18th dyn. tomb of Amenhotep at Thebes ²⁴.

3. *imy-r niwt* - This traditional twin-title to *t3ty* from the MK onward ²⁵ is explained by Gardiner as a relic of the OK title "governor of the pyramid-city" ²⁶. After the OK it more and more becomes incorporated as a ranking feature in the title sequences of the vizier(s), although it may have kept a functional value too, because the vizier indeed may have ruled the central city.

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- 17 Wb III, 96-8; FCD, 170; note the noun *hmst*, "seat", FCD, 170; CLEM, 349; in general see Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 41; AL I, 247 (77.2716); Harari ASAE 56 (1959), 143 n.l.
 - 18 E.g. the Festival Hall inscription of Tuthmosis III, 1.1, cf. Gardiner, JEA 38 (1952), Pl. II with p. 9; Berufung User, 1.1, cf. Helck, *Wsr*, 108; Punt expedition, Urk IV, 349,10.
 - 19 E.g. Duties, R1; Davies, Pl. XXIV,1 (vizier); Horemheb, right, 1.6, cf. Kruchten, DH, 148; 151 (local officials).
 - 20 See above VARIANTS, note a). Likewise, for instance, in the Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut inscriptions (ref. note 18); see also below p. 25.
 - 21 Cf. Varille, *Amenhotep*, 95 with n. 3; Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 3-7; compare Berufung User, 1.23, cf. Helck, *Wsr*, 109 with p. 111.
 - 22 Ref. respect.: note 18; Davies, *Kenamun*, Pl. VIII; Urk IV, 349, 10; note 18. Other ex., Urk IV, 256,16.
 - 23 Compare *Verwaltung*, 85; AEO I, 45 *. For 'h'w, see Van den Boorn, *Date*, 371 n. 16.
 - 24 Cf. Gordon, MDAIK 39 (1983), 79 with fig. 2 (north); see *ibid.*, p. 76 n. e) for other ex. in the 18th dyn.
 - 25 Cf. Ward, *Index*, 31 (224); *Verwaltung*, 433-65; translated by Hari, *Horemheb*, 309 as "gouverneur du capitale".
 - 26 AEO I, 24 *.

4. *t3ty n niwt rst n hnw* – A crucial phrase of historical importance. Starting point of the discussion will be the hypothesis on the date of the composition of The Duties which we have developed elsewhere²⁷: the text, as it confronts us, has been composed in the early 18th dyn., at least as early as the reign of Hatshepsut. In the course of our study it will become clear that the hypothesis can be specified (see chapter 4).

I think we can safely discard the first possibility: *hnw* = *niwt rst*, *hnw* being used as a qualification of *niwt rst*. The result would be "vizier of the Southern City, (of) the Residence", a unique title.

The second possibility is: *hnw* does not equal *niwt rst*, indicating the existence of *two* centres as residences of *two* viziers²⁸: *t3ty n niwt rst*, a fairly common title²⁹, and *t3ty n hnw*, an unparalleled title³⁰. The pair *niwt rst* – *hnw* is a common MK notion³¹. We would have to assume that in the early 18th dyn. the author of The Duties used this MK notion to denote the double vizirate of his own times. In view of the archaizing tendencies of this period this would certainly not be impossible³². If it should be deemed acceptable, the result of this argument is that we are confronted with the existence of two viziers (temp. Hatshepsut or earlier), at a time where this passage in The Duties would constitute the only piece of evidence for a division of the vizirate³³. In defence of such an assumption we have to look for clues in the text itself and in contemporary sources.

In a 18th dyn. context *niwt rst* can only refer to Thebes, *hnw* only to Memphis³⁴. With von Beckerath³⁵ we draw attention to the fact

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- 27 Van den Boorn, Date, 369–81, esp. p. 374 and 376. For further elaboration, see below chapter 4.
- 28 So *Verwaltung*, 20; 29. There is still another possibility: *one* vizier connected with *two* cities (this option Davies, 89 n. 54). The note by Lurje, SAR, 28 n. 5 is inexplicable.
- 29 Cf. Ward, *Index*, 184; *Verwaltung*, 20ff and passim; Davies, 89 n. 54.
- 30 Cf. Davies, 89 n. 54. Note that *hnw* is determined by the city-sign (Signlist O49), in The Duties as well as, for instance in P. Brooklyn 35.1446 (Hayes, PLMK, 81), indicating that reference is made to the/a residence-city as a whole.
- 31 *Niwt rst* = Thebes; *Hnw* = *It-t3wy*, cf. Hayes, PLMK, 81–2, 135; id., JNES 12 (1953), 33–8; Simpson, JARCE 2 (1963), 58 n. 26; von Beckerath, UGZZ, 73–4; *Verwaltung*, 3–4.
- 32 Cf. Van den Boorn, Date, 376–81; chapter 4 below.
- 33 Two viziers from Tuthmosis III on, i.a. *Verwaltung*, 21–4; Gardiner, *Mes*, 33; Lurje, SAR, 33; Badawy, *Memphis*, 74;77; Vergote, *Joseph*, 106–13.
- 34 Cf. Badawy, *Memphis*, 50–1; LÄ IV, 27–9. As elsewhere in the text, it seems likely that here *hnw* has been used intentionally in the OK sense: *hnw* = Memphis, cf. Posener, LP, 7 n. 3; Van den Boorn, Date, 377–8.
- 35 UGZZ, 96.

that in the phrase of R1 Thebes is mentioned first ³⁶, a possible indication of the paramount position held by Thebes in the earlier part of the 18th dyn. as compared with its status in the late 18-20 dyn. and its relationship with the northern residence. Although proceeding from the thesis of a MK date for the composition of The Duties ³⁷, von Beckerath reaches the ingenious conclusion that the phrase *t3ty n niwt rst n hnw* in R1 can only pertain to two viziers during the 18th dyn.: "Vielmehr ist der 18. Dynastie die einzige Zeit, in der wir zugleich mit der Teilung des Wesirats eine Vorrangstellung Thebens haben" ³⁸.

I can do no better than to take this statement as a point of departure. One cannot escape the impression that the whole of the text has been written as if relating to one vizier, with entire Egypt under his jurisdiction ³⁹. There are, however, indications of a split jurisdiction (apart from R1): R26, *sm.t(w) n.f hrt mnw sm'w*, "to him has to be reported the situation of the fortress of Upper Egypt" ⁴⁰. Apart from the two indications in the text itself, the "Tribute" or "Taxation Text" in TT nr. 100 ⁴¹ gives a further clue since it only deals with deliveries to the vizier Rekhmire by the 80 units of Upper Egypt, viz. the area of jurisdiction of the southern vizier ⁴².

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- 36 As in the other occ. of a combination of the two terms in the text: R18; R23; A24 (= R28). The occ. of *hnw* without mentioning of *niwt rst* (R4; R7) will be interpreted differently, cf. p. 48. Nothing can be said of the traces of *hnw* at the beginning of R34.
- 37 UGZZ, 96. This causes him to consider the phrase *n niwt rst* a NK intrusion into the MK original to suit the NK situation of having two viziers with Thebes and the southern vizier as the dominant factors. For the analysis, see chapter 4 below.
- 38 UGZZ, 96, thereby implicitly rejecting a MK date for the composition of the available copies of The Duties!
- 39 Already noted by von Beckerath, UGZZ, 96. On the subject, see chapter 4 below (4.3 and 4.6.3).
- 40 Cf. below p. 255ff. See also section 13 below.
- 41 Davies, Pl. XXIX-XXXV; XL,1 with p. 32-6; *Verwaltung*, 212-3; Helck, *Mat. VI*, 12-4. The "taxation"-text also figured in TT nr. 131 of Rekhmire's predecessor User (as did The Duties), cf. Davies, 34; *Verwaltung*, 2. n.1.
- 42 See the captions to the scenes: *ipw n h3 n t3ty n niwt rst*, "counted for the bureau of the vizier of the Southern City (= Rekhmire)", Davies, Pl. XXIX,1; XL,1 with p. 33; 103-6. The origin of this text is again traced back by Helck to the MK (*Verwaltung*, 2 n.1; 214). The area comprised the valley between Bigeh (just south of Elephantine) and Assiut (for ref. see note 41). It is interesting to note that, less than 100 years earlier, exactly this area was the homeland and stronghold of Kamose (First Kamose Stela and Carnavon Tablet, cf. Smith and Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 59 and below p. 255ff; Kessler, *Topographie*, 141 n. 642). Various cities recorded in the Taxation-List recur in the P.Louvre E.3226 (cf. Megally, *Rech.*, 221-2 and passim). Herein Cusae figures as the northernmost town, cf. *ibid.*, 38; 221; *Verwaltung*, 13; 57. Therefore, there can be little

This viziral text has close connections with The Duties in that it stems from TT nr. 100; it is written immediately to the left of The Duties ⁴³; it features a group of (in the NK) rare titles used in the same meaning as in the Duties ⁴⁴. Therefore this text at least suggests the existence - possibly as early as the vizier User ⁴⁵ - of a divided vizirate.

On the basis of his Louvre statue ⁴⁶ Redford proposes a northern vizirate for Hapuseneb under Hatshepsut ⁴⁷, resulting in a southern vizirate for the family of viziers Ahmose-(Amen)User -Rekmire-Amenemopet ⁴⁸. Moreover, occasional doubts have been voiced on the existence of a single vizirate before Tuthmosis III ⁴⁹. Admittedly, the textual evidence for a double vizirate in this time is rather meagre ⁵⁰.

Recent research by Megally has elucidated the fact that from the first half of the 18th dyn. duality seems to have been the basic principle according to which the various echelons of government and administration were organised ⁵¹. The result was a doubling of offices and functions on various hierarchical levels. A division of the vizirate might very well be based on the workings of this principle. The same goes for the existence of two major centres, Thebes and Memphis. The two phenomena may be connected in suggesting that

doubt on the NK origin of the Taxation-List. In general, see chapter 4.

43 Davies, Pl. XLVII, 3.

44 *h3tyw-* in combination with *hk3w-hwwt*; *knbttyw nw w*: Davies, Pl. XXIX, 2-3; XL, 1, 2-3; cf. below p. 98ff. For a similar scene and text in TT nr. 155 of Antef, cf. Säve-Söderbergh, PTT I, Pl. XI-XIII with p. 13-5 (with the same titles). Cf. p. 102ff. below.

45 Cf. note 41. Below chapter 4.

46 Urk IV, 471, 16 - 472, 1: *rp't h3ty'*, *hry-tp '3 n šm'w*, *sm Hwt-rh3yt*, *imy-r niwt, t3ty*.

47 Redford, HC, 77 n. 101; cf. *ibid.*, 86 n. 141; contrary to *Verwaltung*, 286-9. In general, see *fig. 13*, p. 369.

48 Cf. *Verwaltung*, 289-98; 435-40; Redford, HC, 86 n. 141.

49 Davies, BMMA, March 1926, pt. II, 48 (based on the "Berufung" of User; cf. Helck, *Wsr*, 107-17 and *Verwaltung*, 24 with a different view); Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 155; 157; Kruchten, DH, 157. See also note 50; chapter 4 below.

50 Evidence *in favour* of a single vizirate is equally meagre. It is a mere assumption based on the silence of our sources, cf. *Verwaltung*, 21; 285-9. For our analysis, see chapter 4.

51 The evidence assembled by Megally pertains to Viceroys of Kush; Highpriests; overseers of the Granary; overseers of the Treasury (see however Helck, GM 43 (1981), 39-41); *idnw* of the first and the last mentioned; scribes; messengers; heads of police; workmen-gangs in Deir el-Medineh; merchants: all of the first part of the 18th dyn., cf. Megally, *Dualité*, 76-81; *id.*, *Studia Aegyptiaca I* (1974), 297-311; *id.*, BIFAO 74 (1974), 161-9; *id.*, BIFAO 75 (1975), 165-81; *id.*, *Rech.*, 281 n 3; 201ff. and *passim*. As early as 1905 Gardiner made similar remarks, *Mes*, 33 n. 5.

the doubling of certain high offices of state, e.g. the vizirate, the *imy-r šnwty*, the *imy-r ḥtm*, did require two centres and *vice versa*, resulting in an administrative division of Egypt ⁵².

It has been suggested that Tuthmosis III spent most of his time in the North, in Memphis ⁵³. Before his time there is ample evidence pointing out that, as early as Tuthmosis I, kings owned estates and palaces in Memphis ⁵⁴. Officials of the period appear to have been buried at Sakkara ⁵⁵.

The picture emerging from this documentation is that, while Thebes held its strong foremost position, Memphis gradually became the second administrative centre of Egypt between Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III. It held that position during the Amarna age and became the true capital under Horemheb ⁵⁶. Interlocked with this process was the doubling of offices, even of the highest ones. In our view, this scheme would account for the mentioning of two viziers in R1, one in prime position in Thebes and one in Memphis.

Concluding this discussion we can say that a double vizirate referred to in R1 tends to be confirmed by the slight evidence of contemporary sources, definite evidence to the contrary apparently being lacking. If the argument is accepted, the conclusion must be that – temp. Hatshepsut and probably earlier (chapter 4) – Egypt was administered by two viziers. This fact is expressed in the first line (and title) of the text. In the long exposé on viziral duties following this indication, the text describes these as acts of *the* vizier in

⁵² At this point it is tempting to suggest that the revival of the principle of duality might have to be sought in the mechanics of the *reconquista* of Kamose and Ahmose. The reconquest of Hyksos territory in the North sharpened the ever-present sense of duality (already deepened by the split-up of Egypt in the SIP). It materialized into a geographical, administrative and bureaucratic division of Egypt as a natural result of the successful reconquest. For further remarks, see chapter 4.

⁵³ Cf. Helck, *Oriens Antiquus* 8 (1960), 310; *Verwaltung*, 5.

⁵⁴ Cf. LÄ, IV, 28. In the Restoration Decree of Tutankhamun the king is said to be in the palace in *Pr-'3-ḥpr-k3-R'*, the old estate of Tuthmosis I in Memphis: Urk IV, 2028,7; 2031,5; cf. Bennett, JEA 25 (1939), 9 with n. 5; Redford, HC, 79; *Verwaltung*, 5. This palace and estate are later on mentioned on a donation stela of Eje: Urk IV, 2109,17. Von Beckerath, *Abriss*, 36 simply states that Memphis became the new centre of administration and military power under Tuthmosis I.

⁵⁵ Cf. Zivie, in: *Mél. Gutbub*, 245–52.

⁵⁶ Cf. Hari, *Horemheb*, 309–10; Kruchten, DH, 148 1.4; 153; 157; according to Graefe, UG II, 119 the Royal Residence itself remained in Thebes before Amarna.

general, by implication as acts of the *two* viziers in office ⁵⁷. We will have ample opportunity to return to this general, not strictly logical aspect of the text ⁵⁸.

5. *ḥ3 n t3ty* - The noun *ḥ3* is regularly used in MK and NK to denote the "hall, office, bureau" of an official ⁵⁹. The text indicates a close relation between the *ḥ3 n t3ty* and the Palace (*pr-nsu*) ⁶⁰. In the times of Hatshepsut a royal palace seems to have been located in front of the 4th pylon at Karnak ⁶¹. Whether it served as a regular dwelling is unclear. Later on, under Amenhotep III and after Amarna - when the Residence was moved north -, the royal Palace at Thebes seems to have been transferred to the Westbank ⁶². It is in the direct neighbourhood of these palaces in Thebes that we have to look for the *ḥ3 n t3ty* (of Upper Egypt). For further elaboration, see below section 3. Nothing can be said of the whereabouts of the bureau of the northern vizier in Memphis in the 18th dyn. ⁶³. In TT nos. 100 (Rekhmire) and 29 (Amenemopet) one can find scenes representing in a stylised way the *ḥ3 n t3ty* (of Upper Egypt) ⁶⁴. In view of its functions ⁶⁵ and particularly bearing in mind the details of the scenes in TT nr. 29 ⁶⁶, it appears to have been a building with several rooms and a main reception- or session-hall. As an institution it had its own personnel ⁶⁷.
6. *ṛt nbt* - Throughout The Duties *ṛ* is used to indicate anticipatory emphasis ⁶⁸. *ṛt nbt p3 sr*, perfective passive participle

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- 57 A situation to be compared with northern/southern viziers bearing titles and epithets that pertain to the *whole* of Egypt, cf. Gordon, MDAIK 39 (1983), 74-6, citing examples from the tombs of Amenhotep, Ramose, Kheruef, Ptahotep, Paser. One may compare the odd mentioning of the vizier T3 (dyn. 20) as vizier of Upper and Lower Egypt in O. Berlin 10633 (Allam, HOPR, 29). See below chapter 4.
 - 58 Cf. p. 162ff.; 215; 256 below. The matter of a division of the vizirate will be resumed in chapter 4.
 - 59 FCD, 183; Wb III, 221-2. In The Duties: of the vizier, R1; A9 (= R9); R13; R23; R24; R27; R36; of chief officials, R8; R9; A9 (= R9; of the *pr-nsu*, R25; *ḥ3 nb*, R15.
 - 60 See below p. 70ff.; von Beckerath, UGZZ, 96.
 - 61 Gitton, BIFAO 74 (1974), 63-73 *Verwaltung*, 5 n. 2. We note the presence of a treasury of Tuthmosis I at North Karnak, cf. Jacquet, *Trésor*. On Theban palaces predating Hatshepsut, no evidence seems to be available.
 - 62 Cf. *Verwaltung*, 2; Graefe, UG II, 119.
 - 63 Cf. *Verwaltung*, 26-7.
 - 64 Davies, Pl. XXIV-V; cf. Newberry, *Rekhmara*, 23 (fig.).
 - 65 Cf. Van den Boorn, JNES 44 (1985), 19 n. 86. Below chapter 3.3.
 - 66 Cf. Davies, 32 n. 76.
 - 67 Cf. Ward, *Index*, nos. 87; 503; *Verwaltung*, 53-4. Below chapter 3.3.
 - 68 As in e.g. the Nauri Decree and the Decree of Horemheb.

with *p3 sr* as semantic subject in the direct genitive (GEG, § 379), lit. "as for everything done by the official". I have given a more free translation.

7. *p3* - As I have pointed out elsewhere ⁶⁹, a peculiar feature of the text is its extensive use of the set *p3/t3/n3* without a strict deictic force. Structurally, the occ. in *The Duties* can be classified as examples of the two forms analysed by Kroeber as functional precursors of the definite article ⁷⁰.

- **anaphorous pronoun:** *p3/t3/n3* as indicator pointing to something previously mentioned in the same context (with a basic notion of "the aforementioned" ⁷¹).

- R1, *p3 sr*; R7, *p3(!) srwy*; R10 (1st occ.), *p3 sr*; R10 (2nd occ.), *t3 wpwt*; R11, *p3 sr*; R12, *p3 sr [hn'] p3[]*; R15, *p3 šfd*; A3, *p3 hr(y)*
For R5, *p3 (sb3)* as anaph. pron., cf. below p. 65.

- **determinative pronoun:** *p3/t3/n3* as indicator pointing to an element to be mentioned in the following phrase(s), in most cases a relative clause or its equivalent.

- R9, *n3 n srw*; R12, *n3 šny. st hr.s*; R20, *t3 d3d3t*.

As Kroeber concludes, the gradual emergence of these forms and their subsequent employment is typical of the "umgangssprachliche" or colloquial texts from the MK, such as the Hekanakhte Papers, the Kahun Papyri or P. Westcar ⁷². In the early NK we see these forms slowly finding their way into monumental hieroglyphic texts written in Middle Egyptian idiom, such as the Kamose texts or the inscription of Ahmose, son of Ebana ⁷³. A composition-date of *The Duties* in the early NK ⁷⁴ accounts very well for the extensive use of the set in this particular way ⁷⁵, a use which apparently has not been suppressed by archaizing aspects of the text.

⁶⁹ Van den Boorn, *Date*, 370. To the ref. cited *ibid.*, n. 10-2, add: Silverman, *RdE* 33 (1981), 59-65.

⁷⁰ Kroeber, *NÄ*, 1-30.

⁷¹ Silverman, *RdE* 33 (1981), 64.

⁷² Kroeber, *NÄ*, 14-25. Some definite ex. from less colloquial, monumental MK texts: CT III, 136i; V, 185d; VII, 494g. I owe these ref. to Dr. J.F. Borghouts. A thorough search would certainly produce more instances.

⁷³ Smith and Smith, *ZÄS* 103 (1976), 48-76; Vandersleyen, *CdE* 45 (1970), 68-75; cf. Kroeber, *NÄ*, 25-30.

⁷⁴ See chapters 2.4.2 and 4.

⁷⁵ The same goes for the possessive adjective *t3(y).f* in R11, cf. Van den Boorn, *Date*, 370 n. 12.

8. *sr* - It is apparent from the occ. in The Duties ⁷⁶ that the term *sr* is used here indiscriminately to denote an "official" (a representative of the state and the central government) regardless of his hierarchical position, power or status. A similarly neutral meaning can be found in more or less contemporary texts such as the Decree of Horemheb or the Nauri Decree ⁷⁷. At the same time the text testifies to the existence of a hierarchy of *srw*: R10, *sr m š3' m sr tpy nfryt r sr n nfryt*, "(any) official from the first (foremost) down to the last" ⁷⁸. It equally testifies to the fact that *srw* are found all over Egypt ⁷⁹. Within this category of *srw* as a body of officials ⁸⁰ the vizier is just the highest magistrate, the *sr par excellence* ⁸¹.
9. *sdm* - Note the very short writing of the verb, as twice in R2 ⁸². It seems appropriate to present a survey of the numerous occ. of the verb in the text with some remarks on its uses and meanings ⁸³.
 - 1) *sdm*, infinitive without semantic object
 - R1 (the present phrase); R13 (1st occ.); R36 (in a fragmentary context)
 - the general act of "hearing" by the vizier, "to hold a hearing, to hear (cases)". In these phrases *sdm* is used in an unspecified manner. By implication it includes all the occ. presented below

- 76 R1, pertaining to the vizier; R7, vizier and *imy-r htm*; R8, any chief official; R9 (1st occ.), every subordinate official; R9 (2nd occ.), any chief official; R10 (1st occ.), local official; R10 (2nd-3d occ.), hierarchical range of officials; A10 + W5 (= R10), local official; R11, local official; R12 (1st occ.), official X; R12 (2nd occ.), idem; R20, an official. Note the consistent use of the hieroglyph Signlist A21 (man holding stick and handkerchief).
- 77 Cf. Kruchten, DH, 32-3; Edgerton, JNES 6 (1947), 219-30; for the text of Nauri see Griffith, JEA 13 (1927), Pl. XL-XLIII; KRI I, 45-58. In the same sense i.a. Installation, R8 and passim, cf. Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 19;22; cf. Ward, *Index*, 153, Lurje, SAR, 38; Théodoridès, RIDA 20 (1973), 66-82.
- 78 Cf. below p. 90ff. See also a comparable phrase in R24 (p. 230).
- 79 See ref. in note 76.
- 80 Note the collective *srwt*, "body of officials", below p. 209ff; FCD, 235; Wb IV, 189; the verb *sri*, "act in the quality of an official", Posener-Kriéger, *Arch.* II, 459 n. 1; AL II, 336 (78.3659); Edel, *Pašijara*, 120-1 n.1; see below p. 209ff. on the title *nty m srwt*. For the social groups from which *srw* were possibly enlisted, see the interesting *mnfyt*-theory of Vanderleyen, *Amosis*, 176-190.
- 81 Compare the *sr* of Buhen as the highest official in the fortress, cf. H.S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions*, London 1976, 78-9.
- 82 Concise or shortened writings are a characteristic feature of the text, cf. Van den Boorn, Date 377 with n. 53. See chapter 2.2.1 below.
- 83 For the phrase in R1, cf. Installation, R18 (Davies, Pl. CXVIII, 18): *ir ist h3 sdm.k. im.f*, "now as for the bureau in which you hold hearings".

in which the object of *sdm* is narrowed down to a specific case⁸⁴.

- 2) A. *sdm*, infinitive with direct semantic object
 - R3; R12; R14
 - the "case" to be heard being specified in the semantic object, *sdm* has the meaning "to hear/to hold a hearing of someone/concerning something" in order to find something out. For the occ. in R12, see also below p. 113ff.
- B. *sdm*, conjugated verb with direct object
 - R2 (1st occ.); R2 (2nd occ.); R13 (2nd occ.); R19; R26; R27 (2nd occ.); R28 (1st occ.); R29
 - its normal use in the text; the object of the inquiry by the vizier is specified in the direct object "to hear something, someone". For R26, see also p. 270.
- 3) *sdm* with preposition *hr*
 - R28 (2nd occ.); R30
 - "to hear concerning/on"; the object is introduced by *hr*.
- 4) *sdm* with preposition *n*
 - R17
 - "to hear someone", in the sense of "to consult, question".

One occ. has to be dealt with in its own context: R21, *sdm(i)* (p. 198).

It is apparent from this survey that *sdm* acquires different nuances in meaning in the various contexts. Therefore, the verb will be translated in order to express the required sense in a given context without reference to the usages listed above.

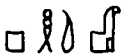
10. *hms.f* - Note the elaborate determinative of the verb: an official with stick seated on a block-throne with back. This type of throne reminds one of the *hwt*-thrones used by kings and gods⁸⁵. Indeed, the whole atmosphere of the first two columns seems to exude a "royal allure"⁸⁶.
As may be noted, we have refrained from repeating the subject (suffix .f), because that makes rather awkward English (cf. Kurth, in: *Hom. Daumas II*, 453ff.).
11. *phdw* - According to Wb I, 542,5 and FCD, 93 the noun is a hapax legomenon. Kuhlmann notes that it is the only instance of a particular type of throne in connection with a specific civil office in

⁸⁴ In general, see FCD, 259; Wb IV, 384-7; AL I 359; AL II, 366; AL III, 281; Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 404-5; Sethe *Einsetzung*, 27; 29 n. 139.

⁸⁵ Cf. Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 51-61. For a parallel from the private sphere, cf. Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* 28 (1906), 171 (ad *Beni Hassan I*, Pl. 26, 155.6).

⁸⁶ Cf. Davies, 89 n. 55. This aspect will be elaborated below, p. 40ff.

Egyptian texts outside the royal or religious sphere ⁸⁷. He suggests the prototype **pi-wd*, "Richt-Stuhl(?)" ⁸⁸. Another suggestion could be **pi-hd*, "the white brilliant throne" ⁸⁹. In a comment on Kuhlmann's remarks Meeks points out two Ptolemaic writings ⁹⁰:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1)  | - <i>Edfou VII</i> (1932), 100, 15 ⁹¹ |
| 2)  | - <i>Mammisi d'Edfou</i> (1910), 93, 1
- <i>Dendara II</i> (1934), 88, 8 |

His proposal is to connect the NK and Ptolemaic writings. I tend to agree with him. If so, *phdw* in our text is no hapax. Moreover, the Ptolemaic contexts clearly show the *phdw*-throne being used by kings. This would suggest that the *phdw*-chair in The Duties is not the only known official seat, but in this special case has simply been adopted by the vizier (or granted by the king?) from the royal court. The term itself, however, remains unparalleled before the Ptolemaic Period, illustrating The Duties' preference for rare or far-fetched terms.

The one thing we can safely say at present is that *phdw* (as represented in its determinative) is a rare name of a chair with four legs and a high back, probably of royal origin. A scene in TT no. 29 tell us that the back might have been covered with a sort of plaid ⁹². In view of all this I have left the term untranslated.

12. *kn* - The translation "mat, reed mat" given by the scholars quoted in the section-heading, would be perfectly suitable were it not for the intriguing note by Sethe (Urk IV, 1104, 1) that the determinative is a rectangular "hellrot mit roten streifen" (actually horizontal and zigzag lines; see the facsimile Pl. 1 for the design).

⁸⁷ Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 37 n. 8; cf. LÄ VI, 92-3. However, it is very unlikely that *phdw* may be considered the terminus technicus for a specific type of vizier's throne; see below.

⁸⁸ Ibid. A connection with a verb *phd*, "to cut open, to burst open" (FCD, 93; Wb I, 542, 1-3) seems doubtful because it only occurs in a medical context. A connection with the noun *bhdw*, "throne" (Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 8 with n. 5; Wb I, 470, 3-5; Drioton, RdE 1 (1933), 15-6) also seems unlikely in view of major differences in writing; cf. Westendorf, GM 90 (1986), 85-6.

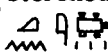
⁸⁹ *p*, "throne, base", cf. Wb I, 490, 4-7; for white as the colour of dignity and status, cf. Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 133 (4.1).

⁹⁰ AL I, 136 (77.1465).

⁹¹ Note the determinative which strongly reminds of the one used in *hms.f* (see previous entry). The determinative of *phdw* itself shows a strong resemblance to the one used in *hms.t* (R1).

⁹² Cf. Davies, 30-1 n. 69.

kn(i) is generally understood as a "mat (made of papyrus-reed)" ⁹³. Some contexts suggest a use as a "covering" or "garment" ⁹⁴, others point to a sense as "(floor)mat" ⁹⁵. In *Adm.*, 10, 5 it occurs as a floormat amongst the belongings of the king's storehouse.

In the P. Reisner I there occurs a noun *kn* , tentatively

interpreted by Simpson as "a type of box (?) made of matting" ⁹⁶, because of its box-like determinative with shrub-projections (compare Signlist N 30-31). In view of the above it could also be a box-like piece with mat-covering. Thinking in terms of "boxes" I was reminded of the determinative of *ispt* in Urk IV, 1837, 14, studied by Varille ⁹⁷. *ispt* has a variety of meanings, e.g. "seat, folding-stool, place to rest" ⁹⁸. The determinative in question is a rectangular with vertical and horizontal lines; the colour is pink with red stripes ⁹⁹. So, *ispt* is interpreted by Varille as a tabouret or square cushion covered by a mat and used by high officials and courtiers in sessions. In confronting the two MK and NK indications with *kn* in R1 one might suggest that - in view of the studied choice of terms in these first lines - *kn* refers to a kind of low platform covered by a mat and painted red for some reason ¹⁰⁰. It might have served as a low pedestal for the throne ¹⁰¹. Hence my rendering "reed-covered dais".

13. *šnp* - Again we are faced with an extremely rare noun and the translations given differ widely ¹⁰². Its basic meaning seems to be "reed" as a generic term ¹⁰³. Hence it may acquire a meaning "reed mat" (on which mummies lie; exclusively used in the P. Rhind) ¹⁰⁴. Farina quotes Pyr. T. 2044,b as evidence for his interpretation "vestito" ¹⁰⁵. He is followed by Faulkner who, in rejecting Davies' rendering "chain of office (?)" (cf. note 102), suggests *šnp* to be "a

⁹³ I take the forms *kn* and *kn* to be mere allographs of each other; cf. Wb V, 48, 15-16; 51, 10-11; FCD, 279; Vandier, *Manuel V*, 473-4, *Nianchchnum*, 152-3; Pl. 77; AL II, 390; cf. AL III, 302 (79.3148).

⁹⁴ E.g. CT VI, 132c (cf. Vernus, RdE 33 (1981), 93 (d)); Sethe, *Dram.T.*, 211-2; Wb V, 51,9.

⁹⁵ *Adm.*, 10,5; P. *Kahun*, Pl. 10, 44-5, in both cases together with *psyt*, "carpet".

⁹⁶ P. *Reisner I*, Pl., 18,12 with p. 49; 128.

⁹⁷ Varille, *Amenhotep*, 91 1.5; 94-5.

⁹⁸ Cf. CLEM, 266-8; Janssen, *Prices*, 191-2; Kruchten, DH, 36.

⁹⁹ Varille, *Amenhotep*, 94 and fig. 18.

¹⁰⁰ Red could refer to victory or defence, cf. LÄ II, 124.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Davies, Pl. XXIV: the enthroned figure of the vizier originally sat on a low pedestal (as so often in NK tomb-scenes). On throne-accessories, cf. Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 69-72.

¹⁰² B and S, "dais"; D, "chain of office (?)", cf. p. 89 n. 55; H and Hassan, "Umhang (?)".

¹⁰³ Wb IV, 514,8; Edel, *Weltkammer*, Abb.11 (upper left scene) (= ZÄS 38 (1900), Pl. V).

¹⁰⁴ Wb V, 514, 9; cf. Dévaud, *Kêmi* 1 (1928), 141.

¹⁰⁵ Farina, 927 n. 6; cf. Sethe, *Dram.T.*, 212. Owing to lexicographical uncertainties Pyr. 2044,b defies a translation (cf. FEPT, 293).

kind of woven vestment, a fringed garment" 106. In the Abusir Archive *šnp* occurs in a list of products for the bleacher which would indeed suggest it to be a kind of woven fabric 107. So far the evidence. Based on these meagre scraps of information I would suggest a translation "vestment" 108. Whether it was still made of reed in the NK remains obscure.

14. *šd hr psd.f šd hr rdwy.f* - The noun *šd* with skin-determinative Signlist F 27 is usually rendered "(leather) container, bag" 109. Obviously such a meaning is somewhat out of place here. The Wb lists a second (derived) meaning, "leather cushion", only attested in the Admonitions and The Duties 110. In the antithetical pair of *Adm.*, 9, 1 *šd* seems indeed to refer to a leather bag filled up and used as a place to rest, as a cushion for the wealthy 111. So, all in all we have one parallel for the meaning "cushion" which appears to fit the context best: the vizier has to sit on it and has to have one placed under his feet 112. In the accompanying judgment-scene in TT no. 29 the vizier actually has a (now colourless) hassock under his feet 113. British tradition provides a curious parallel when the "Speaker" of the House of Lords is called "Lord Woolsack"!
15. All that is left of the noun in the lacuna is a determinative (quite distinct from the one determining *kn*, cf. Pl. 1): a rectangular with thin horizontal and thick vertical lines. It seems to point to another "reed" artefact worn by the vizier (*hr.f*).
16. 'b3 - Contrary to Hassan's interpretation as *šhm* I tend to follow the reading as proposed by Jéquier and Gardiner 114. The

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- 106 JEA 31 (1945), 115, implicitly rejecting his "rendering" in FEPT, 293.
 - 107 P. Abusir, Pl. 52, 3, c: with determinative Signlist Aa 20 as in Pyr. 2044, b; cf. Posener-Kriéger, *Arch.* 373; 381 (ac).
 - 108 We do not know whether *šnp* could be the terminus technicus for the characteristic vizier's dress owing to the extreme paucity of our sources. The only indication to that effect would be that vestments of woven reed could be thought of as rather stiff and bulky (cf. Vandier, *Manuel III*, 250; Fischer, AEMMJ, 136-8).
 - 109 Wb V, 560, 4-5; Signlist F 30; Zonhoven, JEA 65 (1979), 94 (with CLEM, 262); Posener-Kriéger, *Arch.*, 334-5 (k); cf. Janssen, *Prices*, 398 n. 7.
 - 110 Wb IV, 560,6; Coptic *ⲩⲱⲣ*, KoptHWb, 330.
 - 111 See the translations in: AEL I, 158 (rug); Faulkner, JEA 50 (1964), 32 (skin-mat); LAE, 222 (skin-mat); Von Bissing, AL, 131 (einfachten Kissen). The occ. *Adm.*, 4,10 and 7,10 are excluded here in view of their determinative, cf. AEL I, 162 n. 10.
 - 112 It is hard to decide what is exactly meant by *hr psd.f*; a) "at/in his back", GEG, § 128; Gunn, JEA 27 (1941), 144-7; b) "under his back", meaning "sitting on". I take the parallellismus membrorum ...*hr psd.f...hr rdwy.f.* to suggest the second notion.
 - 113 Davies, 30-1 n. 69.
 - 114 Signlist S 42; cf. Hall, GM 64 (1983), 25.

'b3-sceptre is "prescribed" here in the instruction on the ceremony of a vizier's session as the visible symbol of his power and authority ¹¹⁵. Several scenes in the tomb of Rekhmire portray the vizier with this sceptre, in religious as well as in non-religious contexts ¹¹⁶.

17. *r-'* - This quite uncommon compound preposition occurs three times in section 1, twice in R2 and once in R3. Literally meaning something like "to the hand of", it is usually rendered as "beside, near" (place-reference) ¹¹⁷. Although the exact ramifications in meaning have not been clarified in detail at present ¹¹⁸, the notion appears to fit the three occ. ¹¹⁹ On the occ. in R3 see also the additional note below, p. 40.
18. *šsmw* 40 - Taken together with the scene of the vizier's session (Davies, Pl. XXIV-V) in which these 40 *šsmw* lie spread out on four mats in front of the vizier, this famous phrase has provoked a sheer endless discussion on the problem whether *šsmw* has to be rendered "stick, rod, baton", "sinew, tendon" or as "rolls of the law, law-code" ¹²⁰. The latter meaning has found consistent use as evidence for the existence of written, codified law(s) in Egypt ¹²¹. In 1977 Posener settled the question in favour of the basic notion "sinew, tendon", extended to "(leather) whip/rod", in a number of contexts indicating a distinguishing mark of the supreme judge, a symbol of his authority ¹²².

Proceeding from Posener's analysis we have to account for the

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- 115 Cf. Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, 183-8 (together with Fischer, in: AEMMJ Suppl.; id., JEA 64 (1978), 158-62); Cherf, ZÄS 109 (1982), 88ff; Staehelin, *Tracht*, 157-60.
 - 116 Davies, Pl. LI; XCVIII; CVI; CXIV; CXV.
 - 117 Wb I, 156,16; FCD, 146; GEG, § 178; LGEC, § 509,2. The notion "until" (time-reference) seems to occur only in Ptolemaic texts, cf., Wb I, 156,15; AL II, 59.
 - 118 E.g. stela Louvre C. 148,10: "in charge / control of (?), cf. Lowle, in: *St. Fairman*, 52 n. (b); *P. Reisner II*, Pl. 13,7 (with p. 32): "from; through mediation of (?)" (for *m-'* ?); "up to" (place-reference), cf. AL III, 41.
 - 119 See LGEC, § 509,2; Hayes, PLMK, 62.
 - 120 The argument is conveniently summarised by Posener, GM 25 (1977), 63-6. Statements not included there or of later date: Faulkner, JEA 31 (1945), 115; Hayes, PLMK, 51; BAR II, 273 n. e; Seidl., *Einführung*, 19 n. 42; Lurje, SAR, 126; Spiegelberg, *Studien*, 8-9; Peet, *Tomb-Rob.*, 16; Newberry, in: *St. Griff.*, 316 n. 2; Théodoridès, RIDA 14 (1967), 135; Lorton, TC, 61 with n. 252; Andreu, LCIFAO, 6-7; Kruchten, DH, 218 n. 65; Burkard, TUW, 56; Allam, in: *St. Westendorf*, 447-53. LÄ II, 571 still considers *šsmw* "rolls of the law".
 - 121 Proceeding from the remark of Diodorus (using Hecataeus), that eight volumes of law lie before the Egyptian judges in session.
 - 122 Posener, GM 25 (1977), 63-6. It must be noted that already Piankoff (RdE I (1933), 61-3) and Davies (p. 31-2; 50 n. 24)) made similar remarks.

Translation

I (S) came forth[]? []a) provided b) with the šs[m(w?) c)]

As far as I can see the attempted reconstruction suits the traces in Davies' facsimile ¹²⁶.

- a) I have no suggestion for the two lacunae and the group *nḥ* after *pr.n.i.*
- b) The first two signs could be phonograms (for the resulting "abbreviated" writing, cf. Wb III, 64) or determinatives of *ḥbs* (cf. e.g. Urk IV, 944, 16). I favour the first option. Here the verb *ḥbs* must have the basic meaning "to clothe, cover, to be covered" (cf. Wb III, 65-6; FCD, 167; Janssen, *Prices*, 302; AL III, 190), because a meaning "to carry, to give shelter with (?) (a flabellum)" is not constructed with *m* (cf. Wb III, 65, 15; FCD, 168, Faulkner, JEA 27 (1941), 13; LEM, 33,a; 52; 16; CLEM, 117; 121). I take *ḥbs* here to convey an extended meaning like "equipped, provided with" (e.g. CT I, 168c). In CT III, 90b-c a man is indeed provided (*irī m* by Ptah) with the *šsmw* (cf. Posener, GM 25 (1977), 63 with n. 7).
- c) The group *šs[m]* could point to the *šsmt*-girdle, but this is never worn by private persons (cf. Newberry, in: *St. Griff.*, 316-8). The best alternative is actually our *šsm*, "rod". Whether the noun is in singular or plural is impossible to decide.

From this passage, contemporary with The Duties, we learn that the *šsm* may be considered an attribute of the vizier himself. Moreover, the context points out that it is a very important one, because it is on the very occasion of his promotion that he declares himself to be provided with *šsm* ¹²⁷. We note that the two occ. of the term in The Duties and the Autobiography figure in sessions of high-ranking officials, in major public events.

The evidence so far suggests that the *šsmw* in The Duties are symbols of authority of the vizier which relate in some way to the 40 local officials. Posener cites a number of sources that indicate that *šsm(w)* are used for beating (*ḥwi*) lower ranking people. Moreover, Ptolemaic sources are quoted pointing out Thot, Khonsu and the King – holders of *šsm* – as supreme judges. As we shall see in sections 4-5, in The Duties local officials ¹²⁸ are subject – in every matter and aspect – to the vizier: he is their supreme judge.

Taking the information together I propose to consider the *šsmw* in R2 as symbolic, coercive instruments of the overall juridical power of

¹²⁶ See already Gardiner, ZÄS 60 (1925), 64 with a similar view.

¹²⁷ It is just possible that the *ḥkrw*, "adornments" (of the vizier?) mentioned at the end of line 6 of the Autobiography refer to (i.a.) the *šsmw* (Davies, Pl. XI, 6; p. 80).

¹²⁸ The local functionaries of the taxation scene (cf. note 123) are called collectively *ḥ3tyw-*, *ḥk3w-ḥwwt* in The Duties, cf. below section 5.

the vizier over the local bureaucracy. Possibly, they are issued by the king at his installation. They play a role similar to the aforementioned 'b3-sceptre; like this, they are symbols of authority; unlike this, they pertain primarily to his authority over others. In the session-scene for each local official there is a *šsm*, indicating his formal submission to the vizier. In R2 of the Duties the 40 *šsmw* explicitly refer to this scene; by implication, however, it is a very condensed statement on the power of the vizier over every (local) official in Egypt.

Still, Posener's acute remark (see above), remains valid. It is only partly counterbalanced by The Duties' preference for rare and exotic terms.

19. *šš(w)* - Although the reading is certain here, the connotations of the verb have not been clearly defined up to the present day ¹²⁹. In the *Adm.*, 14, 3-4 and Peasant B1, 34 clothes and linen are spread out (*šš*) on the floor. These parallels leave little doubt about its meaning here. For a different opinion, see the translation of Allam cited in the section-heading.
20. *m-b3h* - As is shown by the arrangement of the *šsmw* in the session-scene (see above), the preposition must convey here the more specific meaning "in front of" (the seated vizier). Such a rendering applies best also in its 2nd occ. in R2.
21. *wrw-md-šm'w.....ššw n t3ty r-'f* - In this enumeration of personnel due to be present in the bureau of the vizier we are faced with four, in some cases rare titles with OK/MK backgrounds. They occur nowhere else in the text. As with the foregoing list of viziral attributes to be used during the session - bristling as it does with unique, rare or contrived words - one cannot escape the impression that the text here has a studied archaizing flavour. In giving the first sentences of such a text a "difficult", i.e. "old-fashioned" image, it acquires status and prestige through an aura of tradition. The problem presents itself to what extent these titles can be considered to cover real functions, and if so, whether these NK functions have any valid bearing on the OK and MK backgrounds of the titles used. As I have pointed out elsewhere I am convinced that this is the case ¹³⁰. The results of the analysis below appear to reinforce our conviction.

¹²⁹ For the problem of its possible connection with a verb of motion *šni*; with a verb *šš* (?), "to open" and the difficulties in tracing its morphological nature, cf. GNS, 72-3; 160-1; FCD, 246; LES, 67a n. 2; Caminos, *Woe*, 15 with n. 7; Grimal, *Pi*, 85 n. 242; 189; Eyre, in: *St. Fairman*, 83 (r). See also Wb III, 454, 14 - 456, 14; 483, 2.

¹³⁰ Van den Boorn, *Date*, 374-81. In the course of our analysis this problem will present itself time and again, because *all* titles in the text are essentially OK and MK in origin; it is a characteristic feature of the text. See chapter 4.6.2.

22. *wrw-mḏ-šm'w* - The writing of the title in A2 would require a different transliteration because the traditional *mḏ*-sign under the *šm'*-plant has been left out. R2 retains however *mḏ*. We take this to be a better textcopy. Therefore the title is read in the traditional way ¹³¹.

The obscure title traces its origin back to dyn. 3-4 and is interpreted by Helck as a kind of "collegium", in the OK i.a. connected with the Sed-festival, in the MK acting as a juridical body assisting the vizier ¹³². Fischer stresses the fact that already in the OK these officials seem to have had strong ties with the Residence ¹³³. In the MK we find men bearing the title in various official capacities ¹³⁴. By that time the number included in the title is extended to 20 ¹³⁵.

In the NK only the ties with the Residence remain clear. The title is now quite rare and no official bearing the title is known to perform a specific task in his function of *wr-mḏ-šm'* ¹³⁶. It seems that the title now generally refers to members of a high-ranking bureaucratic group within the Residence ¹³⁷. The number included is now often raised to 30 ¹³⁸.

It is in this NK role as ranking courtiers that the *wrw-mḏ-šm'w* figure in The Duties. Nothing more is to be learned from the phrase than that protocol demands their presence at sessions of the vizier ¹³⁹. There is no reason why such ceremonial functions should not be called real, albeit somewhat vague offices. Up to modern times royal and presidential courts teem with this kind of officials, necessary as functionaries yet hard to grasp in their exact duties and always bearing age-old titles. Treating them as mere relics would seem unwarranted in view of the ceremonial function which the text

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- ¹³¹ I follow Fischer's remarks, JNES 18 (1959), 265-6 (15).
¹³² *Beamtentiteln*, 18-9; *Verwaltung*, 51-3; Vernus, RdE 26 (1979), 107-9(b). Helck's OK interpretation is seriously doubted by Martin-Pardey, UPAR, 96-9.
¹³³ Fischer, *Dendera*, 99 n. 452. Helck holds a similar view.
¹³⁴ *Verwaltung*, 52.
¹³⁵ Cf. Ward, *Index*, 87 (721); for a quite early ex., cf. Žába, RILN, 164 (152).
¹³⁶ The occ. are: stela Berlin 3/71 (Wildung, in: *Festschrift AMB*, 258-9); stela CCG 579 = Urk IV., 412,15 (Senmut); see also Hayes, MDAIK 15 (1957), 87: fig. 4, back, 1-2; possibly stela Louvre C 236 (cf. *Verwaltung*, 53, n. 3); stela Turin 1582 cf. Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, 222; Wildung, op.cit., 259 n. 21; *Verwaltung*, 53; Wb IV, 473,15 (Belegstellen). Kees and Wildung still ascribe them undefined juridical tasks. It may be noted that the NK occ. all date roughly to Hatshepsut's kingship.
¹³⁷ Likewise, so it seems, in the TIP and Late Period, cf. Vernus, *Karnak VI*, 222-3 n. x; *Verwaltung*, 53 n. 1 (here Helck connects the title with *m'b3yt*, "the council of 30"; cf. Kruchten, DH, 182, Théorodidès, RIDA 20 (1973), 88-9 n. 123).
¹³⁸ Wb I, 329,13.
¹³⁹ The "NK appearance" of the title in the text weakens Helck's hypothesis on its MK origin. See below chapter 4.

accords them.

23. *m-itrty* - Compound preposition, "in two rows, in/on two sides" ¹⁴⁰. A close parallel to the present phrase is P. Koller, 5, 1-2: *srw m-itrty m-b3h hm.f* ¹⁴¹. An interesting parallel is provided by P. Sallier I, 5, 11: *m'b3yt nbt šnyt itrty*, "the whole council of 30 and the courtiers of the two sides" ¹⁴². As we have seen before (cf. note 137) Helck connects the *wrw-md-šm'w* (in the NK often extended to 30, as in A2) in the NK with the *m'b3yt* council. Although the context of the phrase in P. Sallier I is rather obscure it would seem to indicate that the arrangement involving *wrw-md-sm'w* and other grandees in R2 is not an isolated one but is a standard practice in the NK.

Here it may be noted that the whole arrangement in this part of the text is strongly reminiscent of countless royal sessions with a "council" of courtiers, officials, "friends" etc. standing around to give advice ¹⁴³. Probably the best instances in this respect are the prologues to the MK and NK "Königsnovellen" ¹⁴⁴.

24. *imy-r 'hntwy* - Helck argues (*Verwaltung*, 53) that we have to understand the title here as an abbreviation of *imy-r 'hntwy n h3 n t3ty* ¹⁴⁵. Although plausible enough, no such official is known from the NK ¹⁴⁶. The common title ¹⁴⁷ is borne in the MK by several high-ranking officials at the same time. Their different assignments are regular - but not always - expressed in a specifying phrase appended to the title ¹⁴⁸. Amongst other things, they are found in

¹⁴⁰ Cf. FCD, 33; DLE I, 60; Gardiner, JEA 30 (1944), 27-8; compare Urk IV, 1546, 11. Cf. Yoyotte-Lopez, BiOr 26 (1969), 5.

¹⁴¹ LEM, 120; CLEM, 445; cf. e.g. Davies, *Kenamun*, Pl. VIII, 2 (with p. 18); Badawy, ZÄS 103 (1976), 2. For the royal aspect of the phrase in P. Koller, 5, see Assmann, Saeculum 35 (1984), 98; Hornung, MDAIK 15 (1957), 120-1.

¹⁴² LEM, 82; CLEM, 314.

¹⁴³ Cf. Badawy, ZÄS 103 (1976), 1-4; Anthes, Paser. 160; Blumenthal, *Unters.*, G 3.71 - 74. For this "royal" aspect see further below p. 40ff.

¹⁴⁴ For a recent discussion with ref. see Blumenthal, ZÄS 109 (1982), 17-9.

¹⁴⁵ In general, see my remarks in Date, 374-5.

¹⁴⁶ For the MK, cf. *Verwaltung*, 53-4; Ward, *Index*, 16 (87). Helck's view is inspired by his dating of our text.

¹⁴⁷ Basic treatment: Gauthier, BIFAO 15 (1918), 169-201; cf. De Meulenaire, BIFAO 61 (1962), 32 (c); Zivie, RdE 31 (1979), 142 (h). For its various translations, cf. Zába, RILN, 153. The title is not attested in the OK (cf. note 152 below).

¹⁴⁸ With specification: *Verwaltung*, 12-3; 53-4; 252-4; Ward, *Index*, 15-7; without: Ward, *Index*, 14-5 (72); see also Gauthier's article (ref. note 147) and P. Reisner I, 80-1; II, 40-1.

charge of ceremony and protocol in the reception halls of the Palace, of the vizier, of the treasuries etc. ¹⁴⁹.

The specifying phrases do not recur in the NK by which time the title has become rather rare. The tasks of the NK official seem to pertain exclusively to the Palace ¹⁵⁰. Whether the *imy-r 'hnty* in R2 belongs to the bureau of the vizier itself or to the Palace in general cannot be decided – the first option seems the more logical one. As we noted above, there is a close connection between these two institutions in the text (cf. p. 22). The two variant possibilities remain, therefore, within the same institutional sphere. Hence my rendering, following Gardiner (AEO I, 45*), "chamberlain" ¹⁵¹.

We may note that it is more or less in its original meaning "overseer of the inner room(s)" ¹⁵² or at least in (one of) the basic MK meaning(s), that the title functions in the NK. As with *wrw-md-šm'w* it appears that when these titles ¹⁵³ are used archaizingly in the NK their meaning and/or context seem to pertain to the original historical function. For additional remarks, see chapter 4.6.2.

25. *iry-ht-k* – In The Duties four titles are composed with an element represented by signlist A 47:

- *iryw*, R15-16
- *iry-'3 n 'rryt*, R36
- *iry-ht-k*, R2
- *iry-šm*, R6; R7

Any uncertainty as to their transliteration is removed by the writing of *iry-šm* in R6 and R7 and the remains of the *i* in A2 ¹⁵⁴.

The exceedingly rare title *iry-ht-k* dates back to the MK where a number of occ. seem to point out an undefined connection with the

¹⁴⁹ See AEO I, 44-5*; *Verwaltung*, 54; 252-4; 280. Note stela BM 140/572 (HTBM II, Pl. 22), *imy-r 'hnty* Antef (XII dyn., connected with the bureau of the vizier): *st3 wrw šm' rdi m-b3h hr hwt.sn m h3 n rp't t3ty*, "one who introduces the great ones of Upper Egypt, one who presents (them lying) on their bellies in the bureau of the hereditary prince, the vizier".

¹⁵⁰ Cf. *Verwaltung*, 54; 252-4. Note On. Amenope, 123: *imy-r 'hnty n pr-nsu* (AEO I, 44*, XXI-XXII dyn.; the phrase *n pr-nsu* is unique). We take the *h3 n t3ty* to be part of the *pr-nsu*, see below p. 67, fig.5.

¹⁵¹ Again we note that the "image" of the title in The Duties is basically the NK one, not the MK one (cf. note 145).

¹⁵² Cf. AEO I, 44*; compare *Verwaltung*, 535 n. 1, *imy-r hntw* in the OK; Murnane, *Coregencies* 245 n. 17.

¹⁵³ In The Duties the titles: *imy-r 'hnty*, *wr-md-šm'w*, *hk3-hwt*, *nty m srwt*, *iry-ht-k*, *šm*, *šš n tm3*, *d3d3t*. For ref., see Index. A similar phenomenon was noted by Helck (*Verwaltung*, 535 and passim) for titles occurring in OK – MK; cf. Van den Boorn, *Date*, 375.

¹⁵⁴ For the problem, see Ward, *Index*, 95 (791), Černý, *Comm.*, 149; 156 with n. 9.

bureau of the vizier ¹⁵⁵. In the NK an *iry-ht-k* seems to have been active on the estate of Tuthmosis III ¹⁵⁶. It is impossible to determine the nature of the duties of this official. Based on a literal interpretation as "the one who belongs to (> is in charge of/takes care of) incoming things/business" I venture a translation "curator of the access" ¹⁵⁷ which seems to fit the known occ.

26. *sšw n t3ty* - This common MK and NK title ¹⁵⁸ refers to representatives, secretaries of the vizier in minor issues in the early NK, particularly involved in the workings of the bureau of the vizier ¹⁵⁹. It is for this reason that their presence is required here. It is their only function in the text. The main representatives or agents of the vizier in The Duties are his *wpwtw*, "messengers" ¹⁶⁰.
27. *w' ggw n w' m s nb* - We are facing two major problems: (1) meaning and connotation of the verb *gg*, crucial for an understanding of the whole sentence; (2) grammatical form and construction of the verb *gg*.

- 1) Hitherto the verb written in R2 as  has been transliterated

as *gwg* and consequently had to be considered a hapax legomenon ¹⁶¹. We propose to read the form as *ggw*. ¹⁶²

¹⁵⁵ Cf. *Verwaltung*, 54 with n. 2; Ward, *Index*, 65 (536).

¹⁵⁶ Helck twice refers to this NK official: *Verwaltung*, 95 n. 8; 101 n. 6. The 1st ref. is to Leiden D 9 (= Boeser, *Beschrijving XII*, Pl. 1,3: bronze figure of a king); the 2nd ref. is to Leiden V 9 (= Boeser, *Beschrijving*, VI, Pl. VII, stela of *Dḥwty-Ms*). Something has gone wrong here in Helck's notes since none of the objects bears the title. It is impossible to determine which Leiden piece Helck actually had in mind.

¹⁵⁷ There is no evidence to sustain Ward's suggestion that the title might be two: *iry-ht**; *'k**, "keeper of property, '*k*-priest" (*Index*, 65 (536). The basis of the title is *iry-ht* which can subsequently be specified in an additional phrase (e.g. AL I, 36; II, 38-9).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *Verwaltung*, 54-5; Ward, *Index*, 159 (1449); Hayes, PLMK, 60-1; Andreu, BIFAO 80 (1980), 147; Onasch, ZAS 113 (1986), 33ff.

¹⁵⁹ See the ref. in note 158. The position of the "chief scribe of the vizier" seems to be somewhat more elevated, cf. Installation, R18 (Davies, Pl. CXVIII), Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 22; *Verwaltung*, 54; El-Sayed, BIFAO 80 (1980), 222. In the late NK, the *sš n t3ty* becomes more important (e.g. the Deir el-Medineh texts).

¹⁶⁰ See below p. 110; 128.

¹⁶¹ Wb V, 161,4; FCD, 288; *Verwaltung*, 40; compare KoptHWb, 471.

¹⁶² See now also the similar suggestion by Luft (cited in the heading of the section). The form is translated there "losredet" ("talkes freely to").

In one of his lexicographical studies Edel has dealt with a verb *g*, "staunend blicken" ¹⁶³. The verb occurs as simplex and as causativum *sg* from the MK onward ¹⁶⁴, in reduplicated form *gg* from the NK onward ¹⁶⁵. We will concentrate here on the latter. *gg* may occur, according to Edel ¹⁶⁶, as an Old Perfective in a pseudoverbal construction (ending -w) and as an abstractum (ending -w), its consistent appearance being *ggw*. I suggest to connect the form in R2 with the reduplicated form *ggw* analysed by Edel.

- a. The examples cited by Edel all date to dyn. 18-19; they can be regarded as more or less contemporary (see also the additions in note 165).
- b. For the writing with Signlist W11 Edel quotes three sources: Ex. III; Ex. IV; p. 14 n. 1.
- c. Two examples attest the use of the form with the preposition *n*: Ex. V; Ex. X, as in R2 ¹⁶⁷.
- d. The form *ggw* in R2 is an Old Perfective (see (2) below).

One obstacle to this identification is the determinative of *ggw* in R2. Edel's ex. show a consistent use of , Signlist D6, as determinative of *gg* ¹⁶⁸. The causative *sg*, however, is regularly provided with the man-with-the-hand-to-the-mouth ¹⁶⁹. Edel's rendering "to look suprised" would seem rather curious in the present context. Some different but related meaning must be intended here.

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- 163 Edel, ZÄS 81 (1956), 14-8 (hereafter abbreviated as Edel). Early simplex and reduplicated writing: *g(w)* and *gg(w)*; later writing: *g3(w)* and *g3g3(w)* (19th dyn.). Edel did not include the form in R2 in his study.
 - 164 Edel, p. 15-6; 16.
 - 165 Edel, p. 14-5. Note CT VI, 379f. To Edel's ref. add: Zivie, *Giza*, 128 1.12; for the abstractum (see below) add: Lacau-Chevrier, CH, 105; 107 1.14; 111 n. (v); 120 1.8. Note Edel's remark on the OK (!) snake *gg*, "the starrer" (p. 17). Helck's identification of *gg-w* in the Elephantine inscription of Sesostri I (MDAIK 34 (1978), 70 1. 20; 72 n. v) seems rather doubtful in view of its date and the non-pseudoparticipial use of the verb (cf. Edel, p. 14-5).
 - 166 Edel, p. 14-5. The same goes for the simplex *g*.
 - 167 See also Zivie, *Giza*, 128 1.12. Ex. V is the Hermopolis stela of Merenptah, Steindorf, ASAE 8 (1907), 217 (1.15 end) = Roeder, ASAE 52 (1954), 319-57 = KRI IV, 29,13.
 - 168 This strengthens Edel in his belief that the verb essentially means "to look suprised" (p. 17).
 - 169 Wb IV, 320,5-6 (cf. Edel, p. 14; 16); already in the MK, CT II, 380b (B41a).

Surveying Edel's ex. we feel that the meaning of *ggw* is determined by two intertwined aspects, viz. a notion of motionlessness and one staring or gazing. A close parallel is the royal session described in P. Koller, 5, 2 (quoted above p. 34) in which *srw m itrti m-b3h hm.f LHP wrw mš'yty nw h3swt nb iw 'h' ggw hr m33 p3 inw*, "the officials (are standing) in two rows in the presence of his majesty LHP, the chiefs and envoys of every foreign land are standing rigidly in a gaze when seeing the tribute" ¹⁷⁰. It is evident that *ggw* defies an accurate translation with one modern term. In our context *ggw* describes the proper respectful attitude of officials ¹⁷¹, something we attempt to outline with "standing rigidly" and "facing fixedly". The description concerns the posture of those officials that have been listed in the previous lines ¹⁷² and who will be heard by the vizier in the sentence that follows.

- 2) The form *ggw* must be an Old Perfective dependant on *w'*. It is used in a pseudoverbal construction acting as a circumstantial clause that precedes the main clause *sdm w' hr-s3 snnw.f*, a rather rare grammatical formation. An extremely rare phenomenon in 18th dyn. texts is a noun (or its equivalent) acting as subject of the circumstantial clause. Vergote mentions only one (contemporary!) parallel: Urk IV, 59,16 - 60,2 ¹⁷³. In The Duties comparable formations are found in R11 and R12 (see below p. 112; 113).
28. *r-'k3.f* - The usual translation of the compound preposition here is "of the same rank" (D), "auf gleicher Rangstufe" (H), based on the ones given by Gardiner and Faulkner ¹⁷⁴ and possibly inspired by what follows in R2 - R3. Such a meaning I find hardly convincing. I take the preposition to pertain explicitly to the prescribed dual line up of officials in the vizier's bureau, as described in the previous sentence. The suffix *.f* then refers to the first official mentioned. I suggest a translation "opposite to", a meaning firmly attested in the NK ¹⁷⁵. In this way the two sentences evince a connection to each other in that the first (R1-2) defines the posture of the two officials

¹⁷⁰ CF, LEM, 120; CLEM, 439 = Edel Ex. VI, p. 15.

¹⁷¹ We note the royal atmosphere of *ggw* in P. Koller, 5,2.

¹⁷² One may compare the strict rules of conduct and procedure for courtiers in the royal quarters laid down in the Decree of Horemheb (cf. Kruchten, DH, 178-83).

¹⁷³ Vergote, FP, 352 ex. 61. Ibid., 356-7, 14 ex. are cited of this formation with "pronominal" subject.

¹⁷⁴ GEG., § 178 n. 19; FCD, 50.

¹⁷⁵ Wb I, 234,1-2; DLE I, 93; AL III, 57; Zonhoven JEA 65 (1979), 90 1.2; compare KoptHWb, 498.

who subsequently will be heard by the vizier in the second one ¹⁷⁶.

29. *sdm(w) w' hr-s3 snnw.f* - *sdm(w)*, a passive *sdm.f* (GEG, § 422) or an infinitive. *hr-s3* here clearly has time-reference, "after" (GEG, § 178). For *snnw*, see below p. 230ff. The sentence must refer to the (two) officials implied in the foregoing clause.
30. *nn rd't sdm(w) hr(y)-ph r-h3t hry* - This clause clearly functions as a condition to the foregoing statement.
The antithetical pair *hr(y)-ph* (variant A2: *hr(y)*) - *hry* could be interpreted in two ways:
 - 1) referring to place, resp. "the one in the back", "the one in front"
 - 2) referring to hierarchical position, resp. "the low(er) ranking one", "the high(er) ranking one".

Against the judgment of the scholars who have dealt with the passage I rather prefer the second option. The first possibility must have been inspired by the previous arrangement of officials and is certainly not easy to attest in contemporary sources ¹⁷⁷. The nominalized nisbe *hry*, "who is upon/high" is regularly used to denote high positions vested with power ¹⁷⁸. Parallel to this use and meaning *hry* is found in conjunction with *hr(y)* to denote an antithetical pair of social inequality, to denote both ends of social hierarchy: "the high (ranking) one", "the low (ranking) one" ¹⁷⁹. This notion in a bureaucratic sense applies to R2-3 ¹⁸⁰. At the same time, it is very well possible that the hierarchical pair *hr(y)-ph/hr(y)* here corresponds with their respective places in the dual line up. However, we take this to be a secondary notion.

Reference is made here - as elsewhere in the text ¹⁸¹ - to a strict hierarchy of officials. A rule is formulated stating that high ranking officials are to be heard *before* those lower in rank in viziral

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- ¹⁷⁶ Compare R10-R11 where posture and action of the vizier's envoy are also described in one set of related clauses.
 - ¹⁷⁷ One may have been guided by paires like *hr-h3t...hr-ph*; *imy-h3t...imy-ph* which can have place- or even time-reference, cf. Blumenthal, *Unters*, 152 (D1.13); Roccati, PI, 29-30 (with n. c); Graefe, UG I, 95 (m21); Fischer, *Orientation*, 119.
 - ¹⁷⁸ Cf. FCD, 174; Megally, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974), 301 (c) with n. 19. The element *hry* is extremely common in titles, usually rendered as "master of" (cf. Ward, *Index*, 115-28).
 - ¹⁷⁹ Cf. Blumenthal, *Unters*, 368-9 (G6.7); Goedicke, *Neferyt*, 120; 121 n. ba (with further ref.); compare id., ZÄS 94 (1967), 67 (= O. Gardiner 35,6).
 - ¹⁸⁰ Variant *hr(y)* in A2 might suggest that the element *-ph* in R2 is not to be read being the determinative of *hr(y)*. In that case the parallel would be complete.
 - ¹⁸¹ Cf. above p. 24.

hearing-sessions. Apparently, relative rank entailed relative rights, a universal phenomenon. As far as I can see, this is the only known legal prescription pertaining to court ceremonial (in this case of the vizier) in pharaonic Egypt¹⁸². An important restriction to the rule is described in what follows.

31. *nn sdm nb r-'.i* - Direct speech with a rare example of *nn* + (nominalized) infinitive in a main clause expressing the non-occurrence of the verbal action¹⁸³. The context of the phrase lends the place reference of the preposition *r-*' (cf. above p. 29) an exclusive connotation "beside > besides, except". Based on the literal meaning "there is not (to be) a hearing of anybody beside me", I have given a free rendering.
In view of the following penal measure such a statement by a high ranking official is a clear offence: he claims the right to be heard exclusively. Having the right to be heard first, he denies the lower ranking official the right to be heard at all. That is his real offence.
On the one hand we detect in this passage a sense of strict hierarchy and firm adherence to procedure, on the other hand we notice that all this has a strong legal basis: justice must prevail without regard to rank, status and position. On this matter, see also below section 6.
32. *ndr.t(w).f* - In view of the "juridical" context the verb *ndr* may have here a penal sense¹⁸⁴. It may be rendered - as in R26 - "to arrest". The arrest indicates that the official will be punished in some way. It is impossible to decide on the nature of the punishment. An interesting parallel is afforded by the MK stela BM 581 of the *imy-r 'hntwy* Intef who states that he is one: *tm ndr w s hr tpt-r*, "who does not arrest a man on account of a remark"¹⁸⁵.
33. *wpwtyw n t3ty* - For the special position enjoyed by the *wpwtyw n t3ty* as prime agents of the vizier I refer to section 5 and chapter 3.5.

At the end of this section we take the liberty of making a short digression on its suggested "royal overtones". The various indications to that effect may be summarized as follows.

- 1) The verb *hmsi* and the term *hmst* convey a definite grandiosity through being provided twice with specific, rather rare and "royal" determinatives. In general, the resemblance of the viziral

¹⁸² Cf. LÄ II, 1238-9.

¹⁸³ Cf. GEG, § 307. An alternative would be *sdm* as passive participle resulting in "there is not anyone being/to be heard beside me" (GEG, § 371). The sense remains the same. Compare the translation of Helck, *Verwaltung*, 30 with n. a) who misses the point.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Wb II, 383,4-6; FCD, 145. Compare the note by Helck, *Verwaltung*, 30-1 n. a.

¹⁸⁵ Sethe, *Les.*, 81,6 (MK). Lichtheim translates "attack", AEL I, 122.

session to royal sessions has been noted. The vizier is seated on the *phdw*-throne, which appears to be derived from the religious and royal sphere.

- 2) Viziral "regalia" are listed in unparalleled detail ¹⁸⁶. They acquire a somewhat "ritualistic" connotation because of the balanced, repetitive and stylized way in which they are enumerated. Two specific symbols of viziral authority are mentioned, viz. *'b3* and *šsm*. Although sparsely attested, the latter appears to derive from the royal-religious sphere.
- 3) The enumeration of "regalia" teems with rare terms, creating a definite archaic and exalted atmosphere, viz. *phdw*, *šnp*, *šd*, *šsm*, *kn*.
- 4) The same holds true for the advisory board of official personnel expected to be present at viziral sessions. They all bear old or rare titles, reminding us of actual "court-titles", none of which recurs elsewhere in the text. The four types of officials are, therefore, distinguished as rather special and exclusive attendants and appear to be surrounded by an air of tradition and age-old custom.
- 5) The layout of the arrangement of the officials in front of the vizier in session is strongly reminiscent of similar arrangements at royal sessions (*m-itrty m-b3h.f; ggw*).

The result of these indications, concentrated as they are in approximately one column at the very beginning of the text, is an impression of the viziral session as so lofty and solemn that it comes close to a royal session. As an official, the vizier is raised to a level that approaches that of the King in session in his temporal and human aspects. He is marked as standing at the very top of bureaucracy and the "royal elements" in the description of his session tend to indicate that the event is only to be compared with royal sessions. Moreover, the whole atmosphere of the description is flavoured with a sense of age-old tradition which lends the scene an additional impressive quality.

Elsewhere, we have indicated that we consider The Duties to be provided with a strong "profiling" aspect ¹⁸⁷. The text has a definite propagandistic value in presenting the vizier as the all-powerful, mighty and paramount figure at the top of bureaucracy and society. This aspect must be taken into consideration in conjunction with its "describing" aspect, when the text is considered as a whole. The "royal allure" of its very first section may be regarded as an elaboration of the former aspect within the framework of the latter. In the analyses below, we will have ample opportunity to return to the matter of "royal aggrandizement" and profiling background ¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁶ For dress and attributes as a mark of social prestige, cf. Morenz, *Prestige*, 18.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Van den Boorn, *Date* 378-81.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. p. 119; sections 17-18. See Chapter 4.6.3-4 below.

SECTION 2 R3 – R5

Pl. 1; 4

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------------------------|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVI, 3–5; CXIX, 3–5
Urk IV, 1105, 1–10 | |
| II | B, 273–4
F, 930–3
D, 90
S, 110–1 | H, 31
J, 63
L, 436 |
| III | Valloggia, <i>Messagers</i> , 94 | R4 |

TRANSLITERATION

- R3 *sm².tw n.f ḥtm ḥtmw r nw wn.st r nw; sm².t(w) n.f ḥrt mnww rs(w) mḥt(w); pr prrt nbt a)*
- R4 *m pr–nsw b) sm²(w) n.f; 'ḳ 'ḳt c) nbt r pr–nsw sm²(w) n.f; ṛr grt 'ḳt nbt prrt nbt r s3tw n ḥnw, 'ḳ.sn prl.sn: ṛn wpwty.f dīdī 'ḳ pri; sm² n.f ṛmyw–r šnt šntw ṛmyw–r w ḥrt*
- R5 *.sn*

VARIANTS

- A4 has *prr nb*.
- In A4 the phrase *'nḥ wḏ3 snb* is added to *pr–nsw*.
- Note the writing of *'ḳ* – in R4, as compared with A4 – with the bird–hieroglyph Signlist G 35 (as in the title *ṛy–ḥt–'ḳ* in R2 and the noun *'ḳ(w)* in R28), cf. *Verwaltung*, 42.

TRANSLATION

- R3 To him is reported the closing of the enclosures ¹ on time ² and their opening on time ². To him is reported the condition of the southern and northern guard–posts ³. When everything that has to leave the

- R4 palace ⁵ leaves ⁴, (that) is reported to him. When everything that has to enter the palace ⁵ enters ⁴, (that) is reported to him. As ⁶ for everything that has to enter or leave ⁷ the area ⁸ of the residence-city ⁵, however, when it (lit. they) will leave and enter: it is his messenger who sees to it that (it) leaves and enters. The overseers of policemen, the policemen and the overseers of (the) district ⁹ report to him their affairs.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE ON TEXT DIVISION

We will concentrate here on sections 2-3 (R3 - R8) because their patterns appear to be interlocked. While section 4 has a first pattern of clauses similar to sections 2-3, it will be shown to have an internal cross-pattern as well. For this reason and because its content is completely different, it will be dealt with later on (p. 78). As will appear below, section 5 is partially connected to sections 2-4 (cf. p. 89).

The best way to reveal the patterning of sections 2-3 is to present a diagram in which the various clauses are indicated by their first words, see *fig. 3*.

Fig. 3

The structure of sections 2-3.

1. <i>sm̃.tw n.f htm...</i>	R3	SECTION 2 (= S2)
2. <i>sm̃.tw n.f hrt...</i>	R3	
3. <i>pri prrt + phrase</i>	R3	
4. <i>'k 'kt + phrase</i>	R4	
5. <i>ir grt 'kt ..., 'k...</i>	R4	
6. <i>in wpwty.f didi...</i>	R4	
7. <i>sm̃ n.f imyw-r šnt...</i>	R4	
1. <i>'k.f...</i>	R5	SECTION 3 (= S3)
2. <i>'k.f...</i>	R5	
3. <i>hr mmm t3ty...</i>	R5	
4. <i>hr imy-r htm + phrase</i>	R5-6	
5. <i>hr t3ty + phrase</i>	R6	
6. <i>hr-ir-m-ht ..., hr t3ty...</i>	R7	
7. <i>in wpwty.f didi...</i>	R8	

The stylistic foundation appears to be the unit of two clauses with the same initial words and - often - the same grammatical formations: S2, 1-2; S2, 3-4; S3, 1-2; S3, 4-5; S2, (5+)-6 - S3, (6+)-7. Moreover, in each section there is group in which the phrases following the initial words in both clauses of the group show a close

similarity in set-up to each other: S2, 3-4; S3, 4-5. In both cases their contents bear out a strong resemblance to each other. Both sections appear to consist of 7 clauses: 3 groups of units of 2 clauses + 1, disrupting in a way the balance at random places within the sequence of 7: S2, 7; S3, 3. Both sections, moreover, appear to be interlocked: S2, 5-6/S3, 6-7.

COMMENTARY

1. *htm htmw* – The noun *htm* basically means "something that is or can be closed/sealed". Its specific notion is outlined by the context and can be clarified through the determinative ¹. In view of the word-play with the verb *htm* we may assume that the term retains here much of its basic meaning ².
As will transpire from the commentary on the following sections 3-5, the atmosphere of part 1 of our text is set by viziral operations and actions in the residence-city and the *pr-nsu* ³. In R7 (section 3) the present phrase *htm htmw r nw* will appear in a report to the vizier on residence and palace matters. It may be suggested, therefore, that *htm* in R3 covers the same notion as in R7 and can be rendered in "residential" terms ⁴.

A parallel to *htm* in R3 is afforded by the P. Boulaq 18 where various kinds of food and commodities are "taken from/out of the *htm*" (situated in the residence-city) ⁵. The papyrus deals with the book-keeping on the entry and departure of provisions intended for the maintenance of the royal court. Scharff rendered *htm* as "Verschluss" ⁶. Within the particular framework of the P. Boulaq 18 *htm* evidently comes close to meaning "storehouse, magazine". With reference to the alliterating word-play in R3 we believe that the term is used here in the wider sense of "enclosure", covering all types of rooms, houses and spaces that ought to be locked and opened

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- 1 Its meaning can range from "contract" and "chest" to "storehouse" and "fortification", cf. Wb III, 352; FCD, 199.
 - 2 Not an isolated word-play as attested by Pi(anchi) Stela, § 15,5: *htm.f htm(w)*, "his fortification (enclosure) was closed" (referring to the residence of Osorkon I), cf. Grimal, *Pi*, 81; 84 n. 237.
 - 3 This also applies to section 1 because, as we will analyse below, the *h3 n t3ty* was situated in the *pr-nsu*, cf. p. 75 n. 96. and p. 67 fig. 5.
 - 4 Thus excluding a meaning like (fort(ification))", which appears to be covered – in the residence-city – more or less by *mnw* in R3 (cf. below p. 46).
 - 5 P. Boulaq 18, XV, 1ff, cf. Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922), 53 with n. 9; Spalinger, SAK 12 (1985), 230 ff.
 - 6 Ibid. The resemblance goes even further: the incoming goods in the P. Boulaq 18 are called '*kw*' (Scharff, *ibid*, p. 54), a term comparable to '*k*' '*kt*' in the context of R4. In R4 the goods enter the *pr-nsu*.

on time (R3, R7) ⁷. This also agrees with the general nature of our text. In one term the author is able to pinpoint all types of enclosures rather than one type in particular ⁸. The enclosures seem to have been situated in the *pr-nsw*. We may list the indications to that effect.

- 1) It transpires from section 2 that all traffic related to the *pr-nsw* has to be reported to the vizier, whereas the traffic related to the *hnw* is dealt with by his messenger. In fact, we may suggest that the first part of section 2 (p. 43 fig. 3: S2, 1-4) is dealing with the *pr-nsw* and the second part (p. 43 fig. 3: S2, 5-7) with the *hnw*, creating a marked contrast in subject-matter between the two parts ⁹. It is in line with these two remarks to regard the *htmw* as located in the *pr-nsw* (especially in conjunction with the following obs.).
- 2) As will be discussed below in section 3 (p. 73ff.), the vizier is the managing director of the *pr-nsw*. Reports on the closing and the opening of the *htmw* to the vizier - as indicated in section 2 - can be explained satisfactorily when the latter are located in the *pr-nsw*. The vizier then appears to be charged with general security in the *pr-nsw*, *in casu* its *htmw* ¹⁰.
- 3) We may again refer to the P. Boulaq 18 where *htmw* probably are part of the *pr-nsw* ¹¹.

In fig. 5 on p. 67 we have attempted to reconstruct the layout of the *hnw/pr-nsw/pr-'3* complex, based on the information supplied by sections 2-5. It can be seen to what type of enclosures the general term *htm* of section 2 (and 3) may refer, i.a. the *pr-nbw*, the *h3 n t3ty*, the *pr n t3ty*, the *h3 n pr-nsw*. Seen in this light, the statement of the sentence under discussion appears to pertain to the fact that the vizier supervises the security and the prescribed operation of departmental housings in the *pr-nsw*.

As managing director of the *pr-nsw* the vizier sees to it that the *htmw* are opened and closed on time. From the addition *in ury nb ssm* to the phrase in R7 we learn that the report pertaining thereto is made to the vizier by "every responsible functionary". This "title" resembles the term *htm* in the general, unspecific and collective way in which it denotes the various officials heading the individual enclosures.

⁷ Compare Kemp, JEA 62 (1976), 87; 92ff.

⁸ Note the *htm n p3 hr* of Deir el-Medineh, a storage area for provisions to be distributed as rations to the workmen and also serving as convenient gathering place and administrative headquarters, see A. Mc Dowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el Medīna*, diss. Un. Pennsylvania 1987, p. 153-81.

⁹ Note the introduction of the 2nd part with *ir grt*!

¹⁰ Sections 3-4 attest his supervision over the gates of the *pr-nsw* and its main entrance area (*'ryt*).

¹¹ Cf. note 6 above.

2. *r nw* - Adverb meaning "on time, at the proper time" ¹². Evidently it refers to the daily routine of opening the *h tmw* in the morning and their closure in the evening.
3. *hrt mnnww rs(w) mht(w)* - *Hrt* generally means "situation, condition, affairs, concerns" ¹³. Here it refers to buildings (see below) Therefore, we may render it "condition". The term *mnnww* is usually considered to indicate a "fortress" ¹⁴. What could be meant here with the "southern and northern *mnnww*"? Above (p. 45) we have argued that part 1 of our text is situated in and around the residence-city. The *h tmw* appeared to be located in the *pr-nsw*. In section 2 the clauses on *h tmw* and *mnnww* constitute a pair ¹⁵. All this suggests that the *mnnww* have to be looked for in the same surroundings ¹⁶. A major problem is that no "fortresses" within a residence-city or *pr-nsw* are known from either texts or archaeological records. We are, therefore, dependent on tomb-scenes.

In this respect, Helck draws attention to a scene in the tomb of Mahu at Amarna ¹⁷. We see the Royal Couple on a chariot coming out from the temple and taking a road to the city (?). "The objective of the excursion is the little blockhouse (...) [see fig. 4] . It is merely a windowless tower entered by a door on the ground floor with provision for defence from the roof by means of crenellated and overhanging ramparts" ¹⁸. The road taken by the Couple is flanked with sentry houses that look like the little blockhouse. It may very well be that we are dealing here with *mnnww*. "Fortress" would seem to be too unspecific a translation for this type of structure. We prefer a rendering like "defence-post, guard-post, sentry-house". Again the text provides no clues as to their location, except for the indication "southern/northern".

¹² Cf. FCD, 127.

¹³ Wb III, 318-9. Other occ.: R4, R5, R19, R26.

¹⁴ Wb II, 82, 2-3; FCD, 109. E.g., Smither, JEA 31 (1945), Pl. III-IV 1. 7; Urk IV, 85,3; 739, 16. We may note here the NK writing *mnnww* as compared with MK *mnnww*, cf. Wb II, 82; Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 127 n. 45.

¹⁵ See above p. 43 fig. 3.

¹⁶ A first possibility to render both *h tmw* and *mnnww* in military terms as "forts" and "fortifications" located on the borders of Egypt was discarded in view of these arguments. Moreover, the *h tmw*-clause in R7 would turn out to be inexplicable; cf. *Verwaltung*, 31 (c).

¹⁷ *Verwaltung*, 31 referring to Davies, *Amarna IV*, Pl. XXII; cf. *ibid.*, p. 15-6 and Pl. XXI; XXVIII. Kemp is of the same opinion, cf. JEA 62 (1976), 96-7; LÄ VI, 313.

¹⁸ Quotation from Davies, *Amarna IV*, 16.

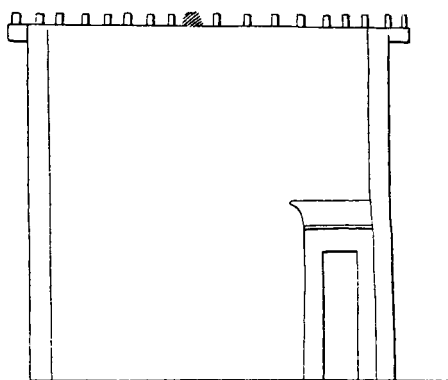


Fig. 4
Defence-post in Amarna,
from the tomb of Mahu
(after Davies, *Amarna IV*,
Pl. XXI).

In the context of section 2 they could be located on the outskirts of the *hnw* or the *pr-nsw*. We suggest the latter possibility.

- 1) As will be shown below ¹⁹, the *pr-nsw* is provided with a girdle wall, gates and a main entrance area (*'ryt*). *Mnnww* could be aligned along the wall. Comparable information on *hnw* is not provided by the text.
- 2) From section 3 it transpires also that the *pr-nsw* is orientated east-west ²⁰, indicating that its northern and southern sides face the Valley and are open to traffic along the roads that approach the complex from the south and the north. The girdle wall appears to have been pierced by a number of gates that could invite an attack and that had to be guarded. A location of *mnnww* on its northern and southern side may be interpreted along these lines (leaving it unlikely that there was a *sb3* – with *mnnw* – at its rear- or west-side!).
- 3) The clauses on *htmw* and *mnnww* constitute a pair in section 2 (see p. 43 fig. 3). This suggests a similar environment for both structures, i.e., the *pr-nsw*.
- 4) Finally, we may point out the first argument listed above in defence of a location of the *htmw* within the *pr-nsw* (p. 45): the fact that the dealings of the *mnnww* have to be reported to be vizier personally (as managing director of the *pr-nsw*) suggests that these structures belong to the *pr-nsw*.

Therefore, we take the *mnnww* to be located at the northern and

¹⁹ See p. 67 fig. 5.

²⁰ See p. 63 below.

southern side of the *pr-nsw*, probably guarding gates in the girdle wall ²¹.

If the above be deemed acceptable, we may conclude that in making report to the vizier on the affairs of the northern and southern defence-posts report is made on the security of crucial parts of the *pr-nsw*. In conjunction with the preceding sentence, the underlying concept of the two sentences becomes clear: the general security and prescribed operation of all enclosures in the *pr-nsw* and on its border-line, the security of the whole complex.

Finally we note that the term recurs in R26 as *mnw šm'w* in its purely military meaning "fortress of Upper-Egypt" ²². In addition, it may be observed here that both *htm* and *mnw* also have a military meaning as "fortress" (or the like). As an underlying notion it may reinforce the theme of security in the present section.

4. *prī prrt nbt / 'k 'kt nbt* - Circumstantial clauses to passive *smi(w)* *n.f* in frontal position, in the present context acquiring the notion of object clauses. The clauses cannot be object clauses to *smi(w)* *n.f* *stricto sensu* since then one would expect the that-form *prr*. The same goes by implication for *'k 'kt*.
The phrase *'k prī* is a fixed formula meaning "(the) entering and coming forth", i.e. the traffic having access to a place or institution ²³. The two clauses under discussion, therefore, are a word-play on the formula in reversed order. The expression can refer to the traffic of personnel ²⁴ as well as goods ²⁵ to and from the palace. The addition *nbt* points out here that all kinds of traffic are intended: personnel, courtiers, visitors etc. as well as provisions, deliveries, goods etc. that come in and go out. The reports to the vizier on *prī prrt* and *'k 'kt* clearly indicate that he controls the traffic having access to the *pr-nsw*. For further remarks, see below p. 74.
5. *pr-nsw / hnw* - In A4 the term *pr-nsw* is provided with a meaningless *'nh wḏ3 snb* ²⁶, influenced by the possibility - from the MK onward - to personalize the term. This is exemplified in A5 where *pr-nsw 'nh wḏ3 snb* is equated with *nb 'nh wḏ3 snb* in R5.

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- 21 There is no way of telling whether there were more than two *mnw*. The term is written as , to be interpreted as *mnw* or as *mnwy*.
 - 22 Cf. below p. 255. Note the difference in phrasing: *mnw rs(w)* *mht(w)* in R3, *mnw šm'w* in R26.
 - 23 Wb I, 231,22 - 232,6; FCD, 49; Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 317 (4.16); LGEC, § 186; Fischer, *Orientation*, 119-21; Williams, in: *St. Wilson*, 94 n. 7.
 - 24 For ref. see previous note.
 - 25 E.g. P. Boulaq XVIII, Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922), 54-5; 58-9; P. Leningrad 1116A vo, Helck, *Mat.IV*, 620ff; cf. *Verwaltung*, 152-62. Compare *Adm.*, 10,4. See also the term *'k* (R28), p. 284 below.
 - 26 As in A18; A20. E.g. *Adm.*, 10,4; P. Anastasi IV, 16,4 (LEM, 52); P. Anastasi IV, vo, C.7 (LEM, 55); compare Blok, *P. Harris 500 vo*, 84.

In The Duties *pr-nsu* is used in the broad sense of its meaning "King's House, palace": in a "strictly" literal way (R8: *sb3 nb n pr-nsu*; R25: *h3 n pr-nsu*), as well as with an institutional sense indicating the royal bureaus and executive offices (R21; R22; R23; R24; R34; A30 (R35))²⁷. The occ. in sections 2-3 (R4, twice; R6) have something of both notions; they refer to the palace as a structure as well as an institution. With reference to these notions it is apparent that with *pr-nsu*, "palace", the royal domain at large is meant, i.e. "palace-precinct". "Palace", viz. the royal living quarters, is denoted by *pr-'3* (see R5, p. 59 and p. 67 fig. 5). In conjunction with the pair '*k pri*', *pr-nsu* is clearly differentiated from *hnw* in R4 in that different kinds of regulations pertain to the traffic in and out of the *pr-nsu* and of the *s3tw n hnw*²⁸. Here *hnw* has - as in R7 - a general meaning "residence-city" without reference to one specific city²⁹. It is used as a regional and institutional indication that covers a larger unit than the *pr-nsu*, the latter being part of the former³⁰.

As Helck correctly points out³¹, it is clear that in The Duties the vizier is in charge of the execution of directives, actions and affairs of the *pr-nsu* as an institution. For this reason the ins and outs of the palace are to be reported to the vizier himself while the ins and outs of the residence-city are being taken care of by his *wpwty* (R4; R8). However, through his *wpwty* and through the reports made to him on *st nbt n hnw*, "each department of the residence-city" (R7) he equally exercises control over the *hnw*. As will appear below, the only official whom the vizier has to inform in these matters is the *imy-r htm*, "the overseer of the treasury".

6. *ir grt...pri* - The intricate and studied construction of this sentence is inspired by two factors: to put the phrase '*kt...hnw*' into opposition to the contents of the two previous clauses (*grt!*, cf. p. 55) in formulating the phrase in anticipatory emphasis³² and, at

²⁷ See below p. 74ff. Cf. Helck, SAK 3 (1975), 93-6; Davies, 90 n. 57; Grimal, *Pi*, 72 n. 184; Horemheb Decree, right l. 4, cf. Kruchten, DH, 148. Note the title *imy-r pr-nsu*, AEO I, 27*, compare Louvre C.249,2, Andreu, BIFAO 80 (1980), 141. The various institutional aspects of the occ. in The Duties will be dealt with in the pertinent commentary.

²⁸ The distinction *pr-nsu* / *hnw* (also found in R6-R7) dates back to the OK, cf. Posener-Krieger, *Arch. I*, 333; *II*, 619-20; Helck, SAK 3 (1975), 93-4. Compare the MK titles *knbt nt hnw*, *knbt nt pr-nsu* cited by Goedicke, *Neferyt*, 54 n. b.

²⁹ Only in the phrase *niwt rst hnw* does it refer to Memphis, cf. p. 18. Therefore, it may apply here to Memphis as well as Thebes.

³⁰ Against BAR II, 274 n. a; cf. Helck, SAK 3 (1975), 94-5. See p. 67 fig. 5 below. In WG, 173-4 Helck expressed a different view.

³¹ SAK 3 (1975), 94. See below p. 74ff.

³² On clauses in sentence initial position, cf. Callender, CdE LVIII no. 115-116 (1983), 83ff.

the same time, to emphasize that here too the vizier has control, though indirectly, through his messenger, a notion formulated in a separate emphatic statement but which has an implicit connection with the foregoing clause *'k.sn pri.sn*³³. We have thought it best to give this clause a vague futural and temporal sense in view of the following emphatic formation.

7. *r* - Fischer has pointed out that the replacement of the preposition *m* by *r* after the expression *'k pri* tends to occur mainly in dyn. 18-19³⁴.
8. *s3tw* - For its meaning "ground, area" see Wb III, 424, 4-6; CLEM, 166; 411; *P. Reisner I*, 77 (25). A clear parallel is afforded by the Kamose texts, Helck, HBT, 96 l.6: *s3tw niwt*, "the area of Thebes"; cf. Habachi, *Kamose*, 42; 43 n.e. (with reference to a similar phrase in the Ahmes-Nefertari Decree; Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), 196 (h)).
9. *imyw-r šnt, šntw, imyw-r w* - Although the number of discussions of the titles *imy-r šnt (šnt)* and *šnt (šnt(w))* is impressive³⁵ the background(s), variant writings, meaning(s) and function(s) of the terms are far from clear. *imy-r šnt* appears in the FIP and is found until the late 18th dyn. (with occasional archaizing occ. in the Late Period)³⁶, while *šnt* is much more rare³⁷. These functionaries seem to have been involved in police-work in urban centres (i.a. fortresses) and desert areas in the MK³⁸. As time went by, they also appear to become operative in temple areas (MK-NK)³⁹. Based on the supposed literal rendering "overseer of quarelling/disputes"⁴⁰ *imy-r šnt* is usually interpreted as "overseer of police, superintendent of bailiffs, chief sherrif". The same uncertainty applies to the arbitrary rendering "bailiff, sherrif" etc. for *šnt*, lit. "one concerned

33 Note in this respect the ellipse of the suffix *.sn* in *didi 'k pri* caused by the connection of the formation with the preceding clause.

34 *Orientation*, 120 n. 374; 118 n. 356.

35 E.g. Wb IV, 498,1-4; FCD, 269-70; Signlist VI; *Verwaltung*, 73-5; Dunham, *Naga-ed-Deir*, 34-5; Andreu, BIFAO 80 (1980), 143 (e); id., LÄ IV, 1068; Gardiner, JEA 9 (1923), 15 n. 2; Spiegelberg, ZÄS 36 (1898), 135-9; Clère, RdE 7 (1950), 31 with n. 5; Fischer, JARCE 1 (1962), 10; 18 n. 84; Faulkner, JEA 39 (1953), 41; Hayes, PLMK, 40; *P. Reisner II*, 41 (4). Fischer, CN, 108-9; Ward, *Index*, 50 (390-2); Berlev, RdE 23 (1971), 35-6; Kees, ZÄS 64 (1929), 111.

36 Discussions of Dunham, Fischer, Helck; Wb. For ref. see previous note.

37 For the NK: the present occ; Duties A27 (R32); A28 (R33); Urk IV, 436,3 (18th dyn.); Redford, JARCE 14 (1977), 23 (Amarna age).

38 Cf. LÄ IV, 1069; Smither, JEA 31 (1945), 7 with n. 12; Pl. III l. 7; further ref. note 35.

39 Cf. Wb IV, 498,2; Ward, *Index*, 50 (391-2); *Verwaltung*, 75 n. 5.

40 E.g. Dunham, *Naga-ed-Deir*, 34-5. The rendering of the Wb IV, 498, "overseer of a hundred" is generally rejected, cf. Ward, *Index*, 50 (390).

with disputes" 41.

In view of the foregoing sentences the context here clearly suggests that they function in the area of the *pr-nsw*. This is reinforced by the occ. in R25: *ntf irr imy-r šnt m ḥ3 n pr-nsw*, "it is he (the vizier) who appoints the overseer of policemen in the bureau of the palace" 42. Unfortunately, the fragmentary contexts of the other occ. of *šnt* do not supply additional information (A27 (R32)); A28 (R33)) 43. In view of all this I would suggest that their function is here to survey the ingoing and outcoming traffic of the *pr-nsw* and to report to the vizier on the police-work involved 44. It accords with the nature of the text that this is left unspecified: *hrt.sn*, "their affairs" 45.

In R4 these two titles are followed by a title written as *imy-r hrp*, usually rendered as "overseer of a district" and also an official presumed to be charged with police tasks 46. Meeks has argued that *hrp* is to be considered a variant writing of *w*, "district" 47. This would result in a reading *imy-r w*.

Meeks's convincing argument tends to be reinforced by the fact that the titles (*imy-r*) *šnt* are indeed joined by *imy-r w* in a number of cases (never by *imy-r hrp*):

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| - Duties A27 (R32), | cf. p. 287 below |
| - Duties A28 (R33), | cf. p. 287ff. below |
| - Installation W21, | cf. Davies, Pl. CXVIII;
Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 28
(62); Berlev, RdE (1971), 36.
See the Appendix. |

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- 41 Note Fischer, CN, 109 suggesting *šnt* to be a feminine collective. For these officials, see also below p. 252.
- 42 Cf. below p. 252. Strictly speaking this is not contradicted by Urk IV, 436,3: *wḏ ḥm.f rḏt.ṯ r šntw*, "His Majesty ordered my appointment as policeman".
- 43 The occ. A27 suggest that *šnt nb*, "every conflict, everything to be investigated" had to be reported to the vizier by *šnt nb*, "every policeman" (!) which could come under the heading of police-work, cf. p. 287.
- 44 See, for instance, the report of an *imy-r šnt* in the 3rd Semnah Dispatch on the wanderings of Nubians in the neighbourhood of the fortress Yeken, cf. Smither, JEA 31 (1945), 7-8; Pl. III.
- 45 For a tentative synopsis of their various tasks, cf. Andreu, LÄ IV, 1069.
- 46 Cf. FCD, 196; Wb III, 329,14; Sethe, *Lesest.*, 71,6 (with AEL I, 125); Gardiner, JEA 38 (1952), 18 n. 2; Pl. II,88 (18th dyn.); Ward, *Index*, 41 (307; 308?); 208; *Verwaltung*, 76; Fischer, *Varia*, 14 n. 37 (*knbtj n hrp*, MK). Cf. Clère, BIFAO 85 (1985), 79-80.
- 47 AL I, 77 (77.0798). See already Fischer, *Varia*, 14 n. 37 citing a *knbtj n hrp* as parallel to *knbtj n w* (for this title see below p. 174) and Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), 93.

- Peasant B1, 192-3,

cf. De Buck, RB, 96,2-3; Gardiner, JEA 9 (1923), 15 n. 2; *Verwaltung*, 73; 75-6; Vogelsang, *Bauer*, 153 (193) also referring to *Beni Hassan I*, Pl. 30.

In view of this I propose to read the title in R4 as *imy-r w* after Meeks. The contexts of the last two occ. cited above suggest that he was or could be charged with police tasks. Other sources indicate that this "overseer of a district" could be attached to institutions like temples, granaries and storehouses ⁴⁸. The occ. formerly interpreted as *imy-r hrp* fall neatly within this framework ⁴⁹.

So the picture emerges of an "overseer of a/the district" of an institution with temporary or permanent police tasks. We may suggest the *w* in *imy-r w* to refer, in this respect, to the limited area that he covers officially. This image tends to coincide largely with the - equally vague - impression of the *imy-r šnt* as described above. Without additional evidence it seems difficult to refine the functional distinction between a *imy-r šnt* and a *imy-r w*. ⁵⁰

The one thing we can safely say, I think, is that two types of policemen are involved here in the surveillance and control of traffic to and from the residence-city and the *pr-nsw*. The key notion in this sentence - as indeed in this whole section - appears to be security, We are left with one problem. Helck states that the element *w*, "district" in *imy-r w* cannot not be the same as *w*, "(rural) district" ⁵¹. For an analysis of this point we refer to the commentary on R19, p. 174ff. below. Here we would like to note the following points (from which we will proceed in R19):

- in Duties R4 the *imy-r w* seems to operate in (the *w* of) the *hnw*; his colleague in the palace is the *imy-r šnt*.
- in Installation R21/W21 the *imy-r w* acts (together with the *imy-r šnt*) as representative of the vizier in investigating matters concerning *hbsw*-field. See the Appendix.

48 Cf. Ward, *Index*, 17-8 (94-101); *Verwaltung*, 75-6; AL I, 77; Martin, *Seals*, nrs. 638; 381; 1688; 1243; 1576a.

49 Ref. note 46. E.g. the functionary cited by Gardiner is attached to Tuthmosis III' Festival Hall; CCG 20544c (*Verwaltung*, 76 n. 5) is attached to the treasury.

50 Proceeding from the occ. of *imy-r šnt* in R25 (cited above) it is possible to suggest that this functionary operated primarily in the *pr-nsw*. Then the *imy-r w* would cover the *hnw*. Here, it may be noted that the *mnw* of fig. 4 above (p. 47) is represented in the tomb of Mahu, a *police official* at Amarna, cf. above note 17. The tenor of section 2 may appear to resemble, therefore, the Amarna situation.

51 *Verwaltung*, 76.

- in the Duties w-rural districts are headed by *knbtyw nw w* (R19; R24-25). This title has a MK variant writing *knbty n hrp* ⁵².

For the moment we are left with the impression that although the word is doubtlessly the same, it is used in two distinct ways: pertaining to a specific area of operation in *imy-r w*, to a limited rural area otherwise.

52 See Fischer, ref. notes 46-7; Needler, in: *St. Dunham*, 134 (fig. 4).

SECTION 3 R5 – R8

Pl. 1; 4

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVI, 5–8; CXIX, 5–8
Urk IV, 1105, 12 – 1106, 16 | |
| II | B, 274–5
F, 933–6
D, 90
S, 111 | H, 31–2
J, 63–4
L, 436–7 |
| III | Lurje, SAR, 29
Helck, SAK 3 (1975), 94
Lurje, SAR, 37
GEG, § 239
Valloggia, <i>Messagers</i> , 95 | R5
R6–R7
R7, 2nd part
R7, last part
R7–R8 |

TRANSLITERATION

- R5 'k.f grt r nḏ-hrt nb 'nh wḏ3 snb a) i'w smḏ(w) n.f hrt t3wy m pr.f r' nb;
'k.f r pr-'3 hft i'my-r ḥtm 'h'.f r snt mḥtt; [h] r mnmn t3ty m wbn m p3
sb3 n rwty wrty b); ḥr
- R6 i'my-r ḥtm ḫ.f m ḥs.f ḥn' smḏ n.f r ḏḏ: "h3w.k c) nb 'd wḏ3; smḏ.n n.i i'ry
nb sšm r ḏḏ: "h3w.k nb 'd wḏ3; pr-nsu 'd wḏ3 " "; ḥr t3ty smḏ.f n i'my-r
ḥtm r ḏḏ: "h'
- R7 '3w.k nb 'd wḏ3 d); st nbt n ḥnw e) 'd [wḏ3] ; smḏ(w) n.i ḥtm ḥtmw r nw
wn.st r nw in f) i'ry nb sšm'; ḥr-ir-m-ḥt smḏ w' n w' m p3 sr 2, ḥr t3ty
h(3)b.f
- R8 r wn sb3 nb n pr-nsu r rdī [t] 'k' [kw] t nbt prrt nbt m-mḏtt; in wpwty.f
dīdī ḥpr m sš.

VARIANTS

- a) A5 gives *pr-nsw 'nh wd3 snb*.
- b) In A6 *sb3* and *rwty rwty* are determined by Signlist O 32 (as usual in the 18th dyn.). R5 has the normal writing, cf. Wb II, 404.
- c) Note the extremely short writing of *h(3)w* in A6, cf. Van den Boorn, Date, 377.
- d) I cannot explain the dot below *wd3* in A7.
- e) A7 leaves out the city-determinative, like A24 (R28).
- f) Note the archaizing writing of *in* in A7 with Signlist A 27 which can acquire the phonetic value *in*, cf. GEG, § 168; Wb I, 89. The same occurs in W3 (R9); cf. Lacau-Chevrier, CH, 102(f); 143(b).

TRANSLATION

- R5 Now ¹, he shall enter to greet ² the Lord ³ L.H.P., each day when ⁴ the affairs of the Two Lands have been reported to him in his residence ⁵. He shall enter the Great House ⁶ when ⁷ the overseer of the treasury ⁸ has drawn up his position at the northern flagstaff ⁹. Then the vizier shall move (in) from the East ¹⁰ in the ¹¹ doorway of the great double-gate ¹². Then
- R6 the overseer of the treasury shall come to meet him and he shall report to him ¹³ saying: "All your affairs are sound and prosperous ¹⁴. Every responsible functionary ¹⁵ has reported to me saying: "All your affairs are sound and prosperous; the palace is sound and prosperous"" ¹⁶. Then the vizier shall report to the overseer of the treasury saying:
- R7 "All your affairs are sound and prosperous. Every department of the residence-city ¹⁷ is sound and prosperous. The closing of the enclosures on time and their opening on time have been reported to me by every responsible functionary" ¹⁸. Now after ¹⁹ both officials have reported to each other ²⁰, the vizier shall send
- R8 out to open every doorway of the palace ²¹ so as to ensure that everything which has to enter enters and likewise everything which has to leave (leaves) ²². It is his messenger who sees to it that (it) happens by means of a writ ²³.

COMMENTARY

1. *grt* - As in R4, *grt* is used here to create a distinction with the previous sentence as regards contents, at the same time - often in conjunction with *ir* - introducing a new subject or a different approach to the subject under discussion, cf. GEG, § 255 ¹. As will

¹ Other occ.: R13; R16; R17 (twice); R19; R20; R24. Note the curious writing *g(r)t*, 1st occ. in R17.

become clear below, in a number of cases it will prove to be an important indication for connecting and disconnecting sentences, especially in the series of participial statements in the third part of the text.

2. *nd-hrt* - The meanings of this compound verb were principally established by Griffiths as "to greet, to ask after the condition of" ². The verb denotes the common, respectful salutation formula ³ and is widely used in letters ⁴. Bakir notes that it is never addressed to subordinates, only to rank-equals and superiors ⁵. A meaning "to discuss business, to report", i.a. postulated by Goedicke ⁶, has been rejected by Posener ⁷. The verb is commonly used by officials to address gods and kings, when they are received in a personal audience ⁸. On these solemn occasions the salutation formula tends to acquire a ceremonial aspect ⁹. Here it is stipulated that the vizier has to pay his respects to the King in his palace, each day after the situation of the country has been reported to him, viz. the vizier ¹⁰. The implicit tenor is that after the ceremonial salutation, he will inform the King of this report. A parallel for this procedure is afforded by the (fragmentary) introductory lines of the "Berufung" of the vizier User ¹¹. Another contemporary source, the biographical inscription of the NK vizier Ptahmes, indicates that the salutation and the ensuing report might have been a daily procedure ¹². However we have not been able to trace other texts pointing in the same direction, from other periods.
3. *nb* - The *nb*-sign is followed here by the falcon-on-standard Signlist G 7. While there is the definite possibility in the 18th dyn. to

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- 2 Griffiths, JEA 37 (1951), 32-7. The related compound verb *nd-hrt* occurs in R24.
 - 3 Cf. Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 331-2.
 - 4 Cf. Bakir, *Epistolography*, 46-7; 88; James, *Hekanakhte*, 127; Caminos, *Woe*, 12 with n. 11-2; e.g. Glanville, JEA 14 (1928), Pl. XXXV.
 - 5 *Epistolography*, 47; 88; cf. Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 331-2.
 - 6 *Neferyt*, 54-5 n. b-c.
 - 7 Posener, LP, 147-8.
 - 8 Cf. Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 331-2. Numerous exx. can be found in the introductions to the "Königsnovellen", e.g. Neferti, Id; Ie; Ig, cf. Helck, *Nfr.ti*, 4-6; Posener, LP, 147-8; cf. Helck, *Wsr*, 108 l. 4-5; Urk IV, 1158, 9.
 - 9 Compare Davies, ZÄS 60 (1925), 50-6; Kees, *Ägypten*, 179-85; Hermann, ZÄS 90 (1963), 51-2; LÄ, 1238-9.
 - 10 For this interpretation of the following sentence introduced by *iw*, see below.
 - 11 Helck, *Wsr*, 108, 1.2-5.
 - 12 Stela Lyon 88, 7, cf. Varille, BIFAO 30 (1930), 504 (= Hermann, *Stelen*, 55*, 2-3); compare Goedicke, *Neferyt*, 55 with n. 10.

read the sign as the suffix 1st. pers. sing. *ỉ* 13 ("my", referring to the King), it is used here as an (archaizing) determinative 14, as is usual in contemporary hieratic texts 15. An occ. in the Stèle Juridique attests the use in a hieroglyphic text 16. Lorton, following Goedicke, stresses the fact that *nb* "serves to denote a personal relationship between the King and his subjects" 17. We think that is precisely what is intended here 18. On the equation of *nb* 'nh *wđ3 snb* in R5 with *pr-nsu* 'nh *wđ3 snb* in A5, see p. 48.

4. *ỉw smi(w) n.f hrt t3wy m pr.f r' nb* - A sentence with a passive, perfective *sgm.f* with nominal subject introduced by *ỉw*. There are two possible interpretations:
 - 1) main clause with introduction by *ỉw*, a sound Middle Egyptian formation 19 (equivalent to narrative *ỉw sg.m.n.f* 20). "Each day in his house the situation of the Two Lands is reported to him".
 - "Him" and "his" would refer to the vizier but in the context the King would be preferable. The last option creates the rather awkward situation of one clause referring to the King in the midst of two pertaining to viziral tasks.
 - 2) circumstantial clause with introduction by the converter *ỉw*, a formation pointing to Late Egyptian idiom 21. Lit. ", the situation of the Two Lands having been reported to him each day in his house", i.e., ", each day when etc." (a relative past notion, pluperfect 22).

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- 13 Cf. Signlist G7; GEG, § 34 n. 3; Urk IV, 163; Gardiner, JEA 38 (1952), 10; Lorton, JT, 54-5 n. 104.
 - 14 Cf. Signlist G 7; Wb II, 227.
 - 15 E.g. Helck, *Wsr*, 112 passim (P. Turin without no.; cf. *ibid.*, 110 n. 1).
 - 16 Lacau, *St. Jur.*, l. 21 (p. 37) = Helck, HBT, 68. For the MK, Fischer notes the interchangeability of Signlist G 7 and G 5 (falcon) as determinatives (in: *St. Dunham*, 61 n. 28; *id.*, *Dendera*, 211 n. 820. Note, however, James, *Hekanakhte*, 43 (50); 85). In the NK, G 5 may acquire the value *nb*, cf. Wb II, 277; El-Sayed, BIFAO 80 (1980), 227 n. (n); Gitton, RdE 19 (1967), 162 n. (c).
 - 17 Lorton, JT, 12.
 - 18 The other occ. of *nb*: R21; R23; R26; A29 (R34) twice, show the normal determination by means of Signlist A42.
 - 19 In this sense the translations of B (?), F, D, S, L (see heading of the section).
 - 20 Cf. GEG, §§ 465; 421-2.
 - 21 Cf. NÄG, § 324; Frandsen, *Outline*, 217; Kroeber, NÄ, 103-37 (esp. p. 122-3); Bakir, *Epistolography*, 114-5; De Buck, JEA 23 (1937), 158; Černý, in: *St. Polotsky*, 81 ff. E.g., James, *Hekanakhte*, 102 (1); LEM 71, 9; 73, 5. Compare GEG, § 423.
 - 22 In this sense the translations of H and J (see heading of the section).

- This interpretation has the advantage of making the vizier the addressee of the report which enables us to connect the clause meaningfully with the foregoing main clause. The "Berufung" of User seems to confirm that the vizier entered, having heard reports on the Two Lands ²³.

In view of these points we favour the second possibility ²⁴.

5. *pr.f* - If the aforementioned connection of clauses is accepted, then *pr.f* must pertain to the vizier. The *pr n t3ty* could mean two things: "the residence of the vizier" ²⁵ or "the mansion/country estate of the vizier" ²⁶. It is obvious that the first meaning is intended here. Even though this is the only mentioning of the official residence of the vizier in the text, we may assume that - unless stated otherwise - every report to be made to him in our text is actually made there since it probably incorporates the *h3 n t3ty* ²⁷. It is stated that the situation of the Two Lands is reported to him daily in his residence. This circumscription may very well describe a "synthesis" of the various reports on specific matters made to him by his subordinates and assistants in several parts of the text. By implication, therefore, the Pharaoh is informed daily by the vizier on current matters in Egypt, as these have been reported to the vizier himself.

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- 23 Helck, *Wsr*, 108 l. 4-5: [*'k.in*] *t3ty r nd-r' hr hrt t3wy*, "Then the vizier entered (the palace) to discuss the situation of the Two Lands". It seems likely, therefore, that he has been informed on current matters before entering discussions with the King on the situation of Egypt.
 - 24 An additional consideration, based on the parallelism, is that the next main clause *'k.f r pr-'3* (constituting a pair with the present main clause, see p. 43 fig. 3) is also followed by a subordinate clause.
 - 25 In the sense of "official residence" (of an official, etc.) as suggested by Helck, *Mat. III*, 337-45 (esp. p. 340); cf. Allam, HOPR, 154 n. 3. A nice ex. is Lacau, *St. Jur.*, l. 6-7 (= Helck, HBT, 65). Compare Pi(anchi) Stela § 13, 8, cf. Grimal, Pi, 69; KRI II, 383, 2-3 (both of the King). The "private residence" of the vizier would have been rendered *'t nt t3ty*, cf. Helck, *Mat. III*, 340; Janssen, *Prices*, 395-7; Janssen-Pestman, JESHO 11 (1968), 160; Wentz, in: *St. Nims*, 211 n. (r); Spencer, *Temple*, 14-7.
 - 26 *Pr*, "estate", cf. Hayes, JNES 10 (1951), 97; id., PLMK, 83; Menu, *Régime*, 1-25. For the related notion "household", cf. James, *Hekanakhte*, 30; 38; Helck, *Mat. III*, 337; 340. For the "estate of the vizier", cf. *Verwaltung*, 56 with n. 1; Helck, *Mat. II*, 214; Caminos-James, *Silsilah I*, Pl. 46, top row right (*imy-r pr n t3ty*); Vernus RdE 33 (1981), 114 (x).
 - 27 We take the *h3 n t3ty*, mentioned so often in our text (cf. p. 22 and p. 75 note 96), to be part of the *pr n t3ty*.

6. *pr*-'3 - The middle of the 18th dyn. witnessed the transition of *pr*-'3 (from the 12th dyn. onwards regularly provided with the formula '*nh wḏ3 snb*'), meaning "Great House = Palace" to *pr*-'3, "Pharaoh" ²⁸. In view of the architectural indications that follow it is obvious that *pr*-'3 must denote here (archaizingly?) the palace ²⁹, viz. the royal living quarters or private residence, as distinct of *pr*-*nsw*, the official royal residence at large. Apparently for this reason, the usual '*nh wḏ3 snb*' has been left out.

If our interpretation is correct, the sentence '*k.f r pr*-'3 introduces a sequence of events occurring *before* the vizier enters (the palace) to greet the King (see below p. 67, fig. 5). These events form the remaining part of the section. They constitute - as it were - an elaboration of the notion that the vizier is fully informed when paying his respects to the King. In this perspective, a key notion in this section appears to be the flow of information to the vizier and through him to the King.

7. *hft imy-r htm 'h'.f* - Theoretically it is possible to consider '*k.f r pr*-'3 *hft imy-r htm* a main clause (with *hft* in the very rare sense "as well as", cf. GEG, § 169, 3) and to interpret '*h'.f r snt mḥtt*' as another main clause ³⁰. However, I agree with most translations (quoted in the heading of the section) that the clause *hft imy-r htm 'h'.f* ... is best considered dependent on the main clause '*k.f r pr*-'3. For one thing, in this way a number of rather awkward short sentences in the midst of a series of long ones is avoided. The sequence of successive actions described in the next sentences gains strength and momentum in this way, as well as the "team work" between the *imy-r htm* and the vizier. Finally, the division is also suggested by its patterning, parallel to the previous sentence.

Now we face two problems: the time-reference of the conjunction *hft* ³¹ and the verb-form used.

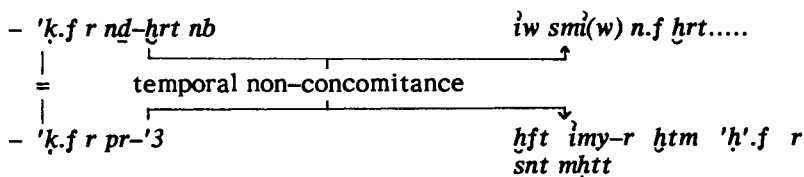
²⁸ Cf. GEG, p. 75. Some early ex. not noted there: Davies, Pl. XVI, 9; Installation, ii (cf. Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 18-9); P. Turin (without no.), 4, cf. Helck, *Wsr*, 112; Gardiner, JEA 38 (1952), 17 n. 1; Pl. VI, col 72; Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 41 (no. 19, 8); Vernus, RdE 33 (1981), 107; 121 l. 2(?), all dating to the first part of the 18th dyn. Usual thereafter, e.g. Horemheb Decree ll. 13;15; passim, cf. Kruchten, DH, 28; DLE I, 175-6. On MK "precursors", see Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 26 (1.24).

²⁹ As sometimes found also later on, e.g. Caminos-James, *Silsilah I*, Pl. 23; p. 31 n. 4; Vernus, RdE 33 (1981), 115 (ai); Zivie, *Giza*, 222. Perhaps also archaizingly in Pi(anchi) Stela § 14, 4, cf. Grimal, *Pi*, 77, 76 n. 213. The distinction *pr*-*nsw* - *pr*-'3 dates back to the OK (although with different meaning), cf. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 143-5. See below p. 67 fig. 5.

³⁰ In this sense the translation of L (see heading of the section).

³¹ Note its rare writing, cf. GEG, § 169.

- 1) According to present knowledge the conjunction *hft* can be used to express temporal concomitance ³², as well as temporal non-concomitance ³³. Since in our case there are no formal indications to determine the choice, we have to consider the context. I have thought it best to visualize this as follows:



Proceeding from the literary patterning (p. 43 fig. 3), this diagram suggests that the conjunction *hft* expresses temporal non-concomitance (or even precedence in time) with respect to the action of the main clause.

Seen in perspective with the next four sentences, a similar notion is suggested in the repetition of *hr(.f) sdm.f* constructions (with alternating subjects vizier and *imy-r htm*). The repetition explicitly conveys a temporal non-concomitant notion in each of the four sentences with regard to the preceding one:

'k.f r nd-hrt nb LHP iw sm(w) n.f hrt t3wy m pr.f r' nb	(R5)	temporal successive/ non-conc.
'k.f r pr-'3 hft imy-r htm 'h'.f.....	(R5)	←
1) hr mmmn t3ty...	(R5)	
2) hr imy-r htm ii.f...	(R5-R6)	temporal
3) hr t3ty sm.f...	(R6-R7)	successive/ non-conc.
4) hr-ir-m-ht w' n w'...	(R7)	

Sentence no. 4 terminates the sequence of *hr(.f) sdm.f* constructions in presenting the vizier as taking final action, *hr t3ty h(3)b.f r...* etc.

The outcome of the two diagrams is that the section appears to consist of a sequence of non-concomitant events and actions. It would seem warranted, therefore, to suggest that the *hft*-clause fits in with this sequence and consequently conveys a temporal non-concomitant notion.

³² GEG, § 169, 4-6; Perdu, RdE 30 (1978), 101 n. 1 (further ref.).

³³ Perdu, RdE 30 (1978), 101-114 distinguishing the notions "dès que" and "après que". He mainly proceeds from NK material.

- 2) The verb-form used appears to be of the form *hft.f sdm.f* for which I can offer no parallels. Of course, one is instantly reminded of constructions like *hr.f sdm.f*, *k3.f sdm.f*, etc.³⁴. Here we have the conjunction *hft*, followed by a (nominal) subject in extraposition, followed by an (imperfective?) *sdm.f*. It remains obscure to me whether we have to isolate this configuration as a separate grammatical formation. Be this as it may, the clause and the verb-form become subordinated through the intrinsic notion of *hft* (see above).
8. *imy-r htm* - The discussion on the correct reading of this title - written with Signlist S 20 in R5; R6; R30 and with Signlist S 19 in A6 - is still undecided to date³⁵. Here we follow the reading as suggested by Fischer³⁶.
The title dates back to the end of the FIP³⁷. In the MK it gains considerable importance. The *imy-r htm* is in charge of the personal assets, the treasure of the King, and all operations pertaining to it. As the King's most confidential official, he leads royal expeditions and construction works (or his deputy, the *idnw*)³⁸. In the first half of the 18th dyn.³⁹, he also appears to administer the storage areas of the palace and a number of sources portray the official as entrusted with the education of royal princes⁴⁰. After Amenhotep II the *imy-r htm* seems to have lost his all-powerful position increasingly to the *imy-r pr wr*, "the chief steward" of the royal belongings⁴¹.
In The Duties the *imy-r htm* occurs in two contexts. In *both* he is accompanied by the vizier:

34 GEG, §§ 239; 242.

35 Cf. Fischer, CN, 126-9; Yoyotte, *Orientalia* 35 (1966), 50-1; Martin-Pardey, UPAR, 116 n. 3; Ward, OLP 6-7 (1975-76), 592 with n. 10-1; id., *Index*, 169 (1468); 47; LÄ V, 541 n. 1. Graefe distinguishes *imy-r htm* from *imy-r htmt*, UG II, 30 (g).

36 Ref. note 35, cf. Franke, GM 83 (1984), 112-4; Zivie, in: *Mél. Gutbub*, 246 with notes 10-11.

37 It has been suggested that the origin of the title is to be found in the financial administration of the nomarchs, cf. *Verwaltung*, 77; Ward, OLP 6-7 (1975-76), 594; LÄ V, 540.

38 Cf. *Verwaltung*, 77-82; Traunecker, *Karnak VI*, 198 (c); 207; LÄ IV, 650; V, 540. Traunecker describes his NK position as: "Au Nouvel Empire le chancelier est attaché à la personne royale comme l'est le vizier au monarque" (p. 207). Urk IV, 530 ff. offers the (fragmentary) biography of the NK *imy-r htm* Sennefer (Tuthmosis III), cf. Helck, GM 43 (1981), 39-41; Zivie, in: *Mél. Gutbub*, 246 with notes 10-11; 248 note 24.

39 For his seemingly paramount position during the SIP, cf. *Verwaltung*, 79-80; Ward, OLP 6-7 (1975-76), 593-4; LÄ III, 920; V, 540.

40 Ref. note 38.

41 Cf. *Verwaltung*, 81. According to Helck, the main concern of the *imy-r htm* became more and more the management of the residential palace.

R5-R7, the exchange of reports on the situation of the *pr-nsw* and the *hnw* between the *imy-r htm* and the vizier, the present section (see p. 70ff. below).

R30, *ntf wn pr-nbw hn' imy-r htm*, "It is he (the vizier) who opens the Gold House together with the overseer of the treasury".
- *pr-nbw*, "Gold House", the royal workshops and storehouses at the palace ⁴².

On account of his function, his presence is to be expected when the vizier opens the workshops and storehouses of the palace. As the chief official, responsible for the management of the *pr-nsw* (cf. p. 72ff.; 74ff.), the vizier seems to have had the overall control over the *pr-nbw* ⁴³. It would be plausible to suggest that the *imy-r htm* was his co-director in the routine of its daily affairs.

A number of 18th dyn. sources seem to confirm the relationship between the overseer of the treasury and the vizier as attested by our text ⁴⁴. For additional remarks on their relationship, see below p. 70ff.

⁴² *Pr-nbw* (synonyms: *pr n nbw*, *hwt-nbw*, cf. LÄ II, 739) may have different meanings as basically established by E. Schott in a series of articles (GM 2 (1972), 37-41; 3 (1972), 31-6; 4 (1973), 29-34; 5 (1973), 25-30; 9 (1974), 33-8; 29 (1978), 127-32): 1) temple, cf. LÄ II, 739; 2) workshop (of goldworkers, attached to the royal palace), cf. *Verwaltung*, 78; Gordon, MDAIK 39 (1983), 74-5; Bourriau, JEA 68 (1982), 58-9 (NK); Vernus, BSFE 85 (1979), 10; 3) palace, cf. LÄ II, 739; Schott, SAK 11 (1984), 265-73 (MK); 4) workshop and Treasury, cf. LÄ II, 739; AL III, 138; 5) treasury, cf. FCD, 89; esp. in the phrase *prwy-nbw prwy hdw*, Sethe, *Lesest.*, 70, 15; Zivie, *Giza*, 57; Urk IV, 942, 9; 6) storage of regalia, cf. Bourriau, JEA 68 (1982), 58-9. In the context of R30 we propose a combination of 2-4-6, (Although attractive, the meaning "palace" (no. 3 above) is covered by the term *pr-nsw* in the present text. "Temple" (no. 1 above) is no real possibility in R30). For its role in the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth, cf. Otto, *Mundöffnung*, I, 1-2; II, 34-5; Silverman, in: *St. Nims*, 128 with n. 29.

⁴³ For an 18th dyn. vizier as "director" of the Gold House, see Gordon, MDAIK 39 (1982), 74-5. Note that Senmut held the same function, cf. Hayes, *Ostr.*, 49-50 (LXII-IV).

⁴⁴ In a hierarchically arranged offering-list published by Vernus (RdE 33 (1981), 107-8; 113 (t)), their domains are listed one after the other. They have the joint directorship over constructionwork at Deir el-Bahari (O.MMA Field no. 23001.50, cf. Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 46). They are the highest officials mentioned in the economic P. Louvre E. 3226 (cf. Megally, *Rech.*, 162; 278-81).

9. *snt mḥtt* - In the NK the term commonly denotes the flagstaff(s) in front of the temple-pylon ⁴⁵. According to the Wb, the present phrase is the only one referring to flagstaffs of a palace ⁴⁶. We take the *snt mḥtt* here as belonging to the *pr-3*, the building which the vizier enters when the overseer of the treasury has drawn up his position at the (its) northern flagstaff. The addition *mḥtt*, "northern", indicates - on analogy with temple-facades - that the main entrance of the palace was orientated east-west. The two *snwty* apparently stood in front of the *rwty wrty* of the palace (see below). Several texts describe the erection of flagstaffs at the *rwty wrty* (of temples) ⁴⁷. As will appear below, the latter term was regularly used with reference to a palace.

 10. *[ḥ] r mnmn ṯ3ty m wbn m ...* - The facsimile Pl. 1 shows traces of the *r*. The restoration *[ḥ]r* is inspired by the subsequent sequence of *ḥr(f) sdm.f* formations in R5-R8. Due to uncertainties in the rendering of *mnmn* and *m wbn*, the translations of this sentence differ considerably (see the studies quoted in the heading of the section). The meaning of *mnmn* is firmly established as "to move, to displace, etc." ⁴⁸. However, disagreement exists on the speed of the motion. Some render "to move quickly, etc." ⁴⁹. Others interpret the verb as "to move slowly" ⁵⁰, with a derived notion "to advance" ⁵¹. The problems can be traced back to the undefined origin of the verb ⁵² and to the question whether the relative speed is implied by the verb itself or by its various contexts. I have the strong impression that the latter is true. The verb occurs four times in our text:
-
- 45 Cf. Wb IV, 152, 9-11; FCD, 230; LÄ II, 277-8; Yoyotte, *Annuaire. École Pratique des hautes études. V^e Section, LXXXIX* (1980-81), 69-70; 86-7. Note the remark of the Wb that *snt* is not attested before the NK (but see CT II, 280-81a).
 - 46 Wb IV, 152, 11 Belegstelle. Whether this is merely a coincidence is unknown. Were there palaces with pylon-like facades?
 - 47 Cf. Spencer, *Temple*, 200-1 citing i.a. Urk IV, 56, 1-3; 1332, 19.
 - 48 Wb II, 80 - 81, 15 (cf. I, 295, 4); DLE I, 220; AL III, 120 (1222).
 - 49 Cf. FDC, 109; Smith and Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 65 n. (dd) on Kamose I. 30-1 (= Helck, HBT, 96). Note its meaning "to tremble" (of an earthquake), ref. note 48. Compare Coptic *nowmen*, "to shake", cf. KoptHWb, 95.
 - 50 E.g., Habachi, *Kamose*, 43 n. (d) on the same Kamose passage (ref. note 49).
 - 51 Cf. Edgerton-Wilson, HRR III, 126 n. 35b; KRI II, 273, 7 (= AL III, 120 (1222)).
 - 52 Caminos, *Woe*, 26 considers *mnmn* a reduplicated form of *mn*, "to be displaced" (cf. Smith and Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 65 n. (dd) commenting on Habachi's rendering). Westendorf, GM 46 (1981), 30 thinks of a metathesis *nmmn* (Wb II, 267, 11-4) > *mnmn*. I leave the matter undecided.

R5, the present phrase.

R20, *mmmn t3šw*, "the boundaries are moved, displaced" ⁵³ (cf. p. 188).

R20, *t3 d3d3t smmmn st*, "the council that moved them", referring to the same event. Here the causativum of *mmmn* is used ⁵⁴ (cf. p. 191).

R23, *dmd n mš' mmmn hr šms nb*, "the army-contingent that escorts the Lord". Here the verb is used in conjunction with another, *šms*, evidently to describe a specific connotation or type of motion (cf. p. 220).

None of these occ. suggests that the relative speed is implied in the verb itself; this appears to depend primarily on the context. I would suggest that *mmmn* is used in R5 to denote the motion, the advancement of the vizier in a strictly neutral way. The motion is specified by the phrase *m wbn*, a feature comparable with the occ. in R23.

Peculiarly enough, *wbn* is determined here by Δ . This has given rise to serious differences in the translations and, moreover, to the isolation of this *wbn* as a verb disconnected from *wbn*, "to shine, to appear, etc." ⁵⁵. I think we do not need to concentrate on the virtually unique determinative, which could easily be explained as influenced by the idea of motion conveyed by *mmmn*. There are two alternatives:

1) *wbn* as a verb meaning "to appear" ⁵⁶, construed with the preposition *m* ⁵⁷, resulting in: "Then the vizier shall move/advance in appearing in ..." > "Then the vizier shall appear in....".

- a major problem is that *wbn*, in this way referring to private persons (and not to gods or kings), is virtually unique ⁵⁸.

⁵³ For this notion, compare P. Pushkin 127, col. 2,4 (Caminos, *Woe*, 25-6): *twi mn(kwi?) m grg*, "I was removed unjustly (for the lack of the ending .*kwi?*, cf. *ibid.*, n. 2), where the simplex *mn* is used.

⁵⁴ The use of *smmmn* might constitute a pun (with opposite meaning) on the term *smn* "to establish, to conform" (boundaries of lands, etc.), cf. Meeks, *Donations*, 613 with n. 25.

⁵⁵ FCD, 59: "to stride briskly (?)", referring also to the inexplicable caption in *Beni Hassan II*, Pl. 4 (2nd row, right): *wbnt m wbn (?)*; likewise Wb I, 295, 4. Compare Coptic *NAŠBEN*, "stride", cf. KoptHWb, 526. These are the only ref. attesting (?) this meaning.

⁵⁶ Wb I, 293, 12-9; FCD, 58; DLE I, 110-1. See also the study of Lacau, BIFAO 69 (1971), 1-9 establishing its basic meaning as "to rise as a ball, dawn".

⁵⁷ Cf. GEG, § 162, 10.

⁵⁸ FCD, 58 refers to Caminos, LFHS, Pl. 2, 2, 13 (with p. 11) dating to the second half of the 18th dyn. I do not know of other instances. Note in this respect, that *šms*, following *mmmn* in R23, is introduced by *hr*, while *wbn* is here preceded by *m*, suggesting that *m wbn* must be interpreted differently. Moreover, the *hr.f sdm.f* in the next

However, the text could have used the term intentionally to denote "the appearance" of the vizier for the very reason that the term imparted to the event a true royal "allure".

- 2) *wbn(w)* as a noun (nominalized verb), a fancy denotation of "the East" ⁵⁹, and here construed with the preposition *m* of place or separation ⁶⁰: "Then the vizier shall move/advance in/from the East...".
 - the indication "in/from the East" would give sense to the foregoing phrase *snt mḥtt*: a place-indication for the *imy-r ḥtm* may be expected to be followed in this text by a place-indication for the vizier.
 - the translation would fit the east-west orientation of the main entrance (see above).
 - while translating "in/from the East", to the Egyptian mind, the notion of appearance would be retained in a way, because, being based on the verb *wbn*, "to appear", it was fundamental to the notion "the East". The retention of this vague notion of appearance would agree with the tenor of the text.

In view of the latter argument we prefer the second alternative. At first sight, the rendering of *m* would seem to create an ambiguity, "in the East" - "from the East". However, the net result of the two is the same: the vizier moves himself in, or from, the East in the gateway of the main entrance. Afterwards, he will proceed to enter the *pr-ʿ3* (cf. p. 59; 68) which indicates that he will proceed westward. "From the East" would relate more to *mnmn*, "in the East" rather to *m p3 sb3 n rwty wrty*. With reference to the occ. in R23 (*mnmn ḥr šms*), we take the former rendering to agree most with the intentions of the author.

11. *p3 sb3* - Since we take the *rwty wrty* - to which *p3 sb3* belongs - to be part of the *pr-ʿ3* (see p. 67 fig. 5), *p3* retains here an anaphorous connotation in that it points back to *pr-ʿ3* (cf. p. 23 above).
12. *rwty wrty* - Literally meaning "the great double-gate", in the NK the term regularly denotes "the main entrance" to a palace or a temple ⁶¹. That it could be used for making reports at its side is

sentence (R5-R6) is also followed by a nominalized form *ḥs* in the phrase *m ḥs.f* (see below).

- 59 Wb I, 294, 8-9; FCD, 59; DLE I, 111; Caminos, *Woe*, 32-3; CLEM 39 (P. Anastasi II, 1, 4-5); Gardiner, JEA 29 (1943), 39 n.1; Posener, RdE 5 (1946), 255; Goedicke, *Neferyt*, 69; Urk IV, 1973, 5; 1978, 8; 1984, 12 (cf. 1984, 11); LES, 87, 11-2. Note that the meaning is attested from the second half of the 18th dyn. onward.
- 60 Cf. GEG, § 162, 1; 8. Compare e.g., *r wbn(w)*, "to the East", Urk IV, 1978, 8; *m p3 wbn(w) n niwt*, "in the East of the City", LES, 87, 11-2; P. Anastasi II, 1, 4-5; *m p3y.f wbn(w)*, "in its East" (LEM, 12 l. 12).
- 61 The term has been dealt with by Spencer, *Temple*, 198-202. "Palace-entrance" (dyn. 18), e.g. Gitton, BIFAO 74 (1974), 66-8; 69; 71.

demonstrated by P. Anastasi IV, 4, 9-10, *mk.twi iw.kwi r dd smi r-gs p3 rwty wrty*, "See, I am come to make report at the side of the great double-gate" ⁶². As I have pointed out elsewhere, the area in front of a main gate was considered to be the place *par excellence* for i.a. the flow of information between the outer world and the inner world of the palace or the temple (and vice versa) ⁶³. It seems quite logical, therefore, that the vizier exchanges the last up-dated reports and informations at the (gateway of) *rwty wrty* of the *pr-'3*, before entering to pay his respects to his King (and giving him a full report).

13. *hr imy-r htm ii.f m hs.f hn' smit n.f* - While the previous clause contains a *hr sdm.f* construction, here, as well as in the two following sentences, a *hr.f sdm.f* is used (cf. GEG, § 239). Note the short writing of *ii* in R6, as compared with A6. The form *hs* in the standard phrase *m hs(f)* must be a verbal noun derived from the transitive verb 3ae inf. *hsi*, "to approach" ⁶⁴. The phrase is regularly appended to verbs of motion to express the notion "(to come) in meeting X" > "(to come) to meet X" ⁶⁵.
The preposition *hn'* + infinitive continues the verbal notion of the preceding *hr.f sdm.f* ⁶⁶. Since the latter formation is not a definite injunction (imperative or optative) but seems to be provided with rather a vaguely futural notion ⁶⁷, it appears that the use of the formation *hn'* + inf. here deviates somewhat from "classical" (monumental) Middle Egyptian and leans more towards the conjunctive of MK epistolography and early NK texts (*hn' ntf sdm*), which tends to continue exhortative-futural notions, others than optative or

Fig. 5

Hypothetical layout of *hnw - pr-nsu - pr-'3*, with graphic arrangement of the daily meetings vizier (V) - overseer of the treasury (O), and vizier - Pharaoh.

1. O draws up position at northern flagstaff (R5)
2. V advances from the East in the doorway of the main entrance to *pr-'3* (R5)
3. O meets V (R6)
4. mutual reports with successive action by V (R6-R8)
5. V enters *pr-'3* (R5)
6. V greets King (R5)

⁶² LEM, 39 (CLEM, 149).

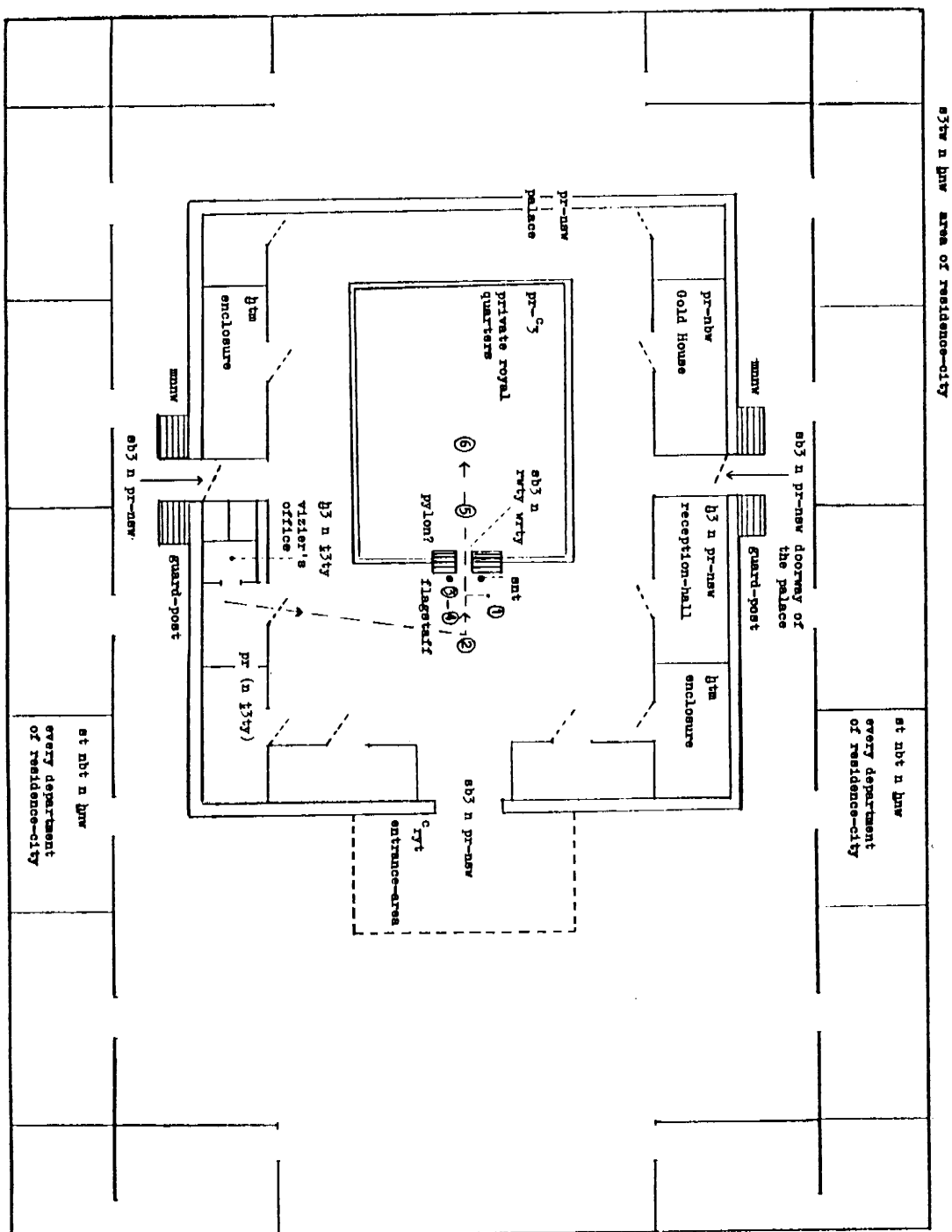
⁶³ Cf. Van den Boorn, JNES 44 (1985), 8ff. See also below p. 81ff.

⁶⁴ Cf. Wb III, 159, 15; 159, 7-8; FCD, 177.

⁶⁵ Cf. AEO I, 159*.

⁶⁶ Cf. GEG, § 171, 3; LGEC, § 403, 1.

⁶⁷ An injunctive notion would seem to be rather awkward in view of the fact that the text portrays the vizier and the *imy-r htm* as more or less equal in rank. For *hr.f sdm.f*, see below chapter 2.4.1.



imperative 68

Now that the main elements in the description have been dealt with in some detail, it seems appropriate to attempt a visualisation of the situation described in sections 2-3, see *fig. 5*, p. 67.

It transpires from the reconstruction that we take the chronological order of events – as presented in section 3 – to be different from the order in which the text describes these events. The most important duty of the vizier, viz. no. 6 (entailing no. 5) is put in "anticipatory summary" at the beginning of the description. Thereafter, the text continues to describe a number of actions that actually have to precede no. 6 (and no. 5). It is after their realisation that the vizier will be able to execute no. 6 to the best of his knowledge and abilities.

14. *h3w.k nb 'd wd3* – Direct speech. This common phrase in MK epistolary reports ⁶⁹ describes the well-being of the belongings of the person to whom it is addressed. In this respect, "belongings" means property and goods, as well as one's affairs and business. An unnumbered fragmentary relief in the Louvre demonstrates its (archaizing) use in the times of Hatshepsut ⁷⁰. We take the phrase here to be used in the widest sense possible, denoting all the vizier's official affairs. Apparently, the *imy-r htm* has ascertained in person or has been informed of the state of viziral affairs in the course of his own activities. The vizier uses the same formula in R6-R7.
15. *iry nb ssm* – Note *nb* intervening between the element *iry* and *ssm* ⁷¹. The compound noun *iry-ssm*, lit. "the one belonging to the

⁶⁸ Cf. Kroeber, NÄ, 152-64. The omission of the subject (being the same as the one of *hr.f sdm.f*) precludes calling the present case a conjunctive *stricto sensu*. When we agree with Sethe's restoration (Urk IV, 1107, 4) of *hr* in the lacuna ... *st3.f[]p3 sr dd.f* in R10/A10/W5, we may face the same phenomenon of a *hr.f sdm.f* continued by *hn'* + inf. (in R11). See however p. 94 below.

⁶⁹ Cf. Borchardt, ZÄS 37 (1899), 97 (+ *Verwaltung*, 78 n. 4); P. Kahun, Pl. 27, 8-9; 29, 3; 29, 33; P.P10023 B, 2-3 and P.P10025, 2-3, cf. Scharff, ZÄS 59 (1924), 28-30; Pls. 3-4; James, *Hekanakhte*, Pl. 28, 7; p. 95; 96 n. 5; 126-7. For the expression *m 'd wd3*, "in safe and sound condition", cf. Caminos, *Woe*, 23 with n. 5.

⁷⁰ BAR II, 274 n. (d); Wb II, 478, 16 Belegstelle. The five occ. of '*d*' in R6-R8 are consistently provided with a *d* added to Signlist V 26, which suggest that the group must be read as '*d*' (as usual in the NK), and not as '*d*'.

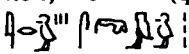
⁷¹ Cf. LGEC, § 186, c.

business, the affair" ⁷² appears to be a rare, general description of an official "in charge", "proper/responsible official" ⁷³. It is found in the 18th dyn. and possibly in the TIP ⁷⁴. The only insight to be gained from its rare occ. is that the term denotes officials whose specific functions are circumscribed by the context of the occ. Thus, we inferred from the context of R7 that the term could well denote the officials heading the various enclosures within the *pr-nsw* (cf. p. 45). In R6 *iry nb sšm* refers to every official owing responsibility to the *imy-r htm*. Probably, they are the same as in R7 because the condition of the *pr-nsw* appears to be part of their report (see below p. 71).

16. "*h3w.k nb 'd wd3; pr-nsw 'd wd3*" - Direct speech within a direct speech, again introduced by *r-dd*, which according to rule is followed by a *verbatim* quotation ⁷⁵. The report of *iry nb sšm* is clearly addressed to the *imy-r htm*. Therefore, we have to conclude that *h3w.k* refers to his affairs and not to the ones of the vizier ⁷⁶. Consequently, the well-being of the palace ⁷⁷ is reported to him and not to the vizier. Because the second piece of direct speech is part of the first, the information of the former ultimately also reaches the vizier, the addressee of the latter. Our interpretation of the sentence will be presented below, p. 71ff.
17. *st nbt n hnw* - Proceeding from its basic sense "throne, place", *st* can acquire a wide variety of meanings ⁷⁸. In my view, three

⁷² For this meaning of *sšm*, cf. FCD, 247; Wb IV, 289, 16-7; see also below on *sšm* in R26, p. 267. For the element *iry* in (OK) titles, cf. Fischer, ZÄS 105 (1978), 53 n. 55; 54-5.

⁷³ Cf. Wb IV, 289, 18; FCD, 25; Sethe, *Einsetzung*, 11 n. 40.

⁷⁴ Duties, R6; R7; Installation, R6; R7 (cf. Davies, Pl. CXVI; Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 22; Sethe, *Einsetzung*, 10-11 n. 40); Urk IV, 860, 7 (cf. Sethe, o.c.); Caminos, *Osorkon*, 102 n. (q). Sethe quotes one ex. dating to the FIP (o.c. n. 40): . However, its writing

of *sšm* with Signlist D 53 (phallus with emission) would seem to point rather to the OK noun *sšm*, "whetstone", written with Signlist T33 (Wb IV, 292, 9-13), resulting in the "title" *iry-sšm*, "butcher (?)" (compare Fischer's remarks, ref. note 72 and AL I, 347 (3881); II, 352 (3835); Helck, WG, 152 "Fleischer").

⁷⁵ Cf. Bakir, *Epistolography*, 74-5.

⁷⁶ Compare Helck, SAK 3 (1975), 94. His translation results in the opposite view. See also his earlier rendering, in *Verwaltung*, 32; 78.

⁷⁷ The phrase *pr-nsw 'd wd3* appears in MK letters, e.g. Smither, JEA 31 (1955), 4-5; Pl. II, 11; III, 6; IV, 5; VI, 6; Helck, *Aktenkunde*, 119-20. In the NK it is found in letters (cf. Helck, o.c.; compare id., JARCE 6 (1967), 147 l. 35-6), as well as in royal announcements, e.g., Urk IV, 81, 3; Helck, o.c. Note the MK variant *nsw 'd wd3*, cf. Hayes, PLMK, Pl. 5, 17; 6, 8.

⁷⁸ E.g., Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 23-7; see also the entries in AL. The noun recurs in R16 in the basic meaning.

meanings are to be considered in the context under discussion.

- 1) "building" ("Anlage") ⁷⁹, as a general term for an undefined variety of structures.
- 2) "service" ("Verarbeitungsbetrieb") ⁸⁰ of the *pr*-3: divisions of the palace economy that supply the necessities of the royal household (and situated, therefore, in the palace and in the countryside, e.g. vineyards).
- 3) "office, department" ⁸¹, as a general term for administrative centres in charge of undefined governmental tasks. Its specific counterpart would be *h3*.

No. 1 would seem to be too general in the context and in conjunction with the qualification '*d wḏ3*' ⁸². No. 2 is only used in the phrase *s(w)t n pr*-3 LHP. For these reasons we prefer the third meaning. We may note that - as far as we know - the phrase *st nbt n hnw* is unique in administrative texts ⁸³. For additional remarks, see under the next entry.

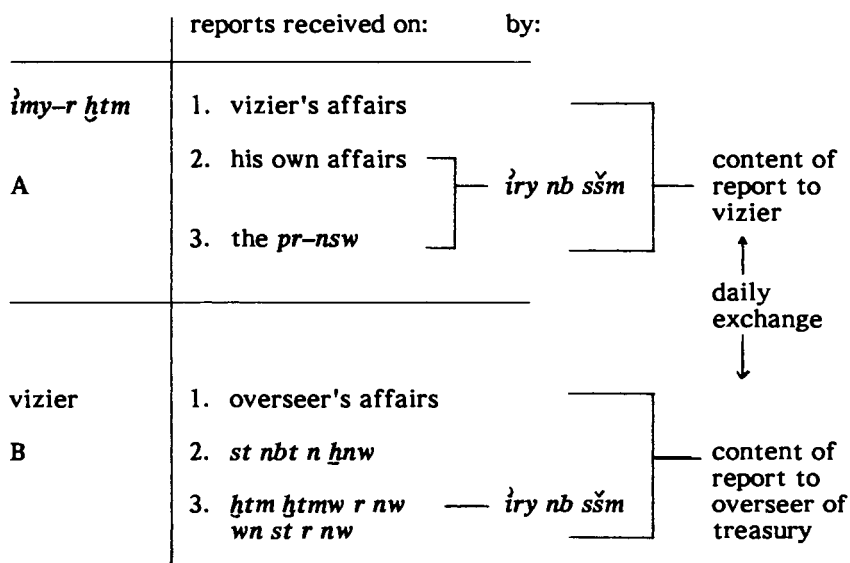
18. *smi(w) n.i ... iṛy nb sšm* - As compared with the foregoing sentence in which, after the introductory formula *h3w.k nb 'd wḏ3*, the report of the *iṛy nb sšm* was built into a (second) direct speech, we note that here a passive *sḏm.f + in* with logical subject (*iṛy nb sšm*) has been used: variation in wording as a literary touch.
For the phrase *ḥtm ḥtmw ... r-nw*, see above p. 44ff. The exchange of reports between the *imy-r ḥtm* and the vizier is a daily event. Consequently, the former is informed daily on the opening and the closing of the enclosures in the *pr-nsw*. We have to consider the question why this has to be. Indeed, what are the reasons for the daily exchange of reports? We could think of two possible explanations.

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- 79 E.g., Helck, *Mat. III*, 339; 344 = cf. Janssen-Pestman, JESHO 11 (1968), 158 ("properties"); with the specific meaning "storehouse" in the title *imy-r st*, cf. Ward, CdE LVIII, no. 114 (1982), 199-200.
 - 80 E.g., *Verwaltung*, 89; 110; 255-9; CLEM, 578-9 (Index); Kruchten, DH, 42-4; 70.
 - 81 E.g., Urk IV, 257, 10; *City of Akhetaten III*, 162 (connected with *pr*-3); Caminos, *Osorkon*, 61 (w); cf. Gardiner, *Mes*, N7; N14; p. 39, referring also to P. Sallier I, 9,9 (LEM, 87); Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 24. Compare the phrase *wnn.k mnḥ st.k*, "You shall be efficient (in) your office" (e.g., Davies, *Kenamun*, Pl. VIII, 21), in which an abstract *st* is used to denote one's function (cf. Kuhlmann, o.c., 27).
 - 82 As the facsimile (Pl. 1) shows, there is room to emend the *wḏ3*-pestle in front of the *w*-bird resulting in the phrase '*d wḏ3*'; compare, for instance, its 1st occ. in R6. Apparently, A7 leaves out *wḏ3*.
 - 83 In an OK biography: Urk I, 210,4 ; cf. Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 24. For an occ. in the Satire of the Trades, see W. Helck, *Die Lehre des Dw3-Ḥtjj*, Wiesbaden 1970, p. 23: IIe; cf. AEL I, 185.

- 1) The *imy-r htm* has to be informed by the vizier because it is in line with his duties to know these facts.
- 2) He has to be informed because it is in line with his status and rank.

First of all, we note that contemporary texts tend to corroborate the cooperation between the vizier and the overseer of the treasury ⁸⁴. It is not an isolated phenomenon. Next we point out the fact that the *imy-r htm*'s main occupation is the administration of the king's assets, the royal treasury ⁸⁵. This institution was probably situated, therefore, in the *pr-nsw*. For this reason, we have seen that the vizier (as managing director of the *pr-nsw*) and the *imy-r htm* (in charge of the royal treasury) open the Gold House in the *pr-nsw* together in R30: the vizier as its director and the *imy-r htm* as his co-director ⁸⁶.

Still more information can be gathered from a closer look at the elements in the daily reports of R5-R8. To get a clear view we have reduced the exchange to its bare essentials in the following scheme.



⁸⁴ See above p. 61ff. with notes 38, 44; cf. Luft, Oikumene 3 (1982), 130-1.

⁸⁵ See above, p. 61ff.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

This arrangement can clarify a number of points.

- Both the overseer of the treasury and the vizier receive daily reports on the affairs of the other (A.1 and B.1). This information is exchanged daily.
- Both receive reports by the *iry nb sšm*. They play a crucial role. As discussed above, *iry nb sšm* in our text is a general and collective "title" for the officials heading the various enclosures (*htm*) in the *pr-nsw* ⁸⁷. These officials report to the *imy-r htm* on his own affairs (A.2). Consequently, the *htm* of the *pr-nsw* are (part) of his affairs. This fact is reinforced in a general way by their report on the *pr-nsw* (A.3), of which the *htm* are part. The information is exchanged daily.
- The same officials report to the vizier on the opening and the closing of the *htm* in the *pr-nsw* (B.3).
- The vizier receives a report on *st nbt n hnw* (B.2). From section 2 we may infer that this report was probably made by a *wpwty n i3ty* ⁸⁸. On the basis of this, the vizier ultimately controls the traffic having access to the *hnw* (implicitly to its departments).
- The last two reports mentioned are exchanged daily.

Some conclusions.

- 1) Both officials receive reports on the affairs of the other and keep each other informed daily of these reports. This suggests that in this respect their fields of work are complementary to each other or even overlap.
- 2) Both are informed on the *pr-nsw* by the *iry nb sšm*:

<i>imy-r htm</i>	on the <i>htm</i> , as his own affairs (A.2)
	on the <i>pr-nsw</i> in general (A.3)
vizier	on the security of the <i>htm</i> (B.3).
- 3) The vizier informs the overseer of the treasury daily of his daily reports on the departments of the residence city.

The general conclusion must be that both officials are more or less peers. Apart from their own separate fields of work they have one in common, the *pr-nsw*. Ultimately, it is the vizier who sets the machinery of the palace in motion each day (R7-R8) and it is he who will have to inform the pharaoh daily. The vizier is the higher ranking one of the two.

As will be shown below ⁸⁹, the vizier is the managing director of

87 See p. 68ff.

88 See p. 49ff.

89 See p. 74ff.

the *pr-nsw*. From the foregoing discussion it seems clear that the overseer of the treasury is his assistant in this respect. In view of his own field of work, added to A.2 and A.3 above, we may even venture to call him the executive manager or co-director of the *pr-nsw*, with the vizier as his superior bearing ultimate responsibility.

The question raised above can now be answered. Both explanations suggested are equally true. The whole procedure appears to be intended to assure an optimal interchange of information between these colleagues ⁹⁰ in respect of the *pr-nsw* and the *hnw* and, ultimately, to provide the vizier with all available information on the subject before actually meeting the King. Again, the flow of information at the very top of the bureaucracy appears to be the key notion of this section.

19. *hr-ir-m-ht smi w'...* - As far we know ⁹¹, our text is the first to use this sound Late Egyptian conjunction. Here, as well as in R16, it is followed by a *sdm.f*, a configuration that appears to recur in the Ramesside Period. Normally, the conjunction is followed by a pseudoverbal construction.
The use of a Late Egyptian conjunction in our text hardly fits the theory of its MK origin. Unless considered an anachronism ⁹², we may consider the phenomenon an argument in defence of our hypothesis of a NK date for the text (see chapter 4).
20. *w' m p3 sr 2* - As in R2, the preposition *m* after *w'* conveys a partitive notion (cf. LGEC, § 490,5).
21. *wn sb3 nb n pr-nsw* - Lit. "open every doorway of the *pr-nsw*". In this respect, we may note Hayes' remark that the clause is a NK expression to denote the initiation of (construction) work (at Deir el-Bahari) ⁹³. Although not relating to construction-work, the clause has the same net effect here. In Fig. 5 (p. 67) we have located the *sb3 nb n pr-nsw* on the boundaries of the *pr-nsw*. In this reconstruction, the *pr-nsw* appears to be provided with a sort of girdle wall, pierced by a number of doorways ⁹⁴. Alternatively, the phrase could refer to doorways (of buildings/offices) in the *pr-nsw* (*sb3* as *pars pro toto*). The latter seems less likely.

⁹⁰ Consultation of subordinates is a notion to which the text pays attention elsewhere; see in general chapter 3.
⁹¹ See my remarks in Van den Boorn, Date, 372, with notes 23-4. Add: Spalinger, *Aspects*, 130 n. 32.
⁹² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 373 with note 29.
⁹³ Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 32 n. 1.
⁹⁴ Compare: *wḏ3[] hr sb3 n nsw, w3t m pr-'3[]*, "proceed(ing) through (?; cf. GEG, § 165, 1) the doorway of the King, the road from the palace[]", cf. Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922), 62 l. 14.

22. *r rdī[t] 'k' [kw] t nbt prrt nbt m mītt* - The form *rdī* after *r* could be explained as a passive *sḏm.f* after a preposition (GEG, § 423,3; very rare), or as an infinitive with omission of the ending *-t*. In view of the omission of *k* in the following *'[kw] t*, we assume a corruption of the text at this point. We prefer the second explanation.

With this clause there is made a phraseological connection with section 2. It is stated there (R3-R4) that the traffic to and from the *pr-nsw* has to be reported to the vizier - the key notion there being security. Here it is said that - *after* the exchange of reports with the *imy-r ḥtm* and *before* entering the *pr-'3* to greet the King - the vizier will give opportunity for the traffic to enter and leave the *pr-nsw* by ordering all its doorways to be opened. The question arises as to why this theme is repeated here in section 3.

Here, we meet the vizier directing the business of the *pr-nsw*. He is the one who enables the *pr-nsw* to operate as the seat of royal government: the traffic to and from the institution is not only to be reported to him (R3-R4), he is the one who actually permits the passage of traffic through his control over the doorways of *pr-nsw*. After the daily exchange of reports its institutional machinery is started up on his order to allow the traffic to enter and to leave.

This aspect is illustrated by the text in an number of places:

- 1) *wḫwtj nb n pr-nsw*, "every messenger of the palace", R21, R34
- 2) *wḫwt nt pr-nsw*, "every mission of the palace", A30 (R35)
- 3) *wḏyt nbt nt pr-nsw*, "every dispatch of the palace", R22
- 4) *...ḥft ddt m pr-nsw*, "...according to what has been said in the palace", R23, R24.

As will be shown in the pertinent analyses of these references, it is the vizier who is charged with the execution and/or supervision of these respective actions of the *pr-nsw* (N.B. no. 2 (A30) is too fragmentary to allow a reconstruction). This agrees with the fact that it is the vizier who orders the doorways of the *pr-nsw* to be opened each day: in exercising control over its channels of communications, he exercises control over its actions, enabling it to function as the centre of royal government⁹⁵. The vizier is the official who is in charge of its outward actions. The text presents the *pr-nsw* throughout as the sole and supreme centre of government. The vizier is described here as setting its machinery in motion, right after his daily informative meeting with his direct colleague and just before the daily meeting with his superior, the King.

At this point, it seems justified to outline our view on the essence of the *pr-nsw* as presented in our text. Proceeding from Helck's analysis (SAK 3 (1975), 93-6) and assembling the indications in the text a picture emerges of the *pr-nsw* as:

95 For the vizier as managing director of the *pr-nsw*, see also p. 49.

- an architectural complex within the *hnw*, the residence-city; provided with a wall and gateways (see *fig. 5*);
- in the institutional sense, the centre where the King resides in his official capacity of ruler of Egypt, assisted by his own bureaucratic apparatus;
- in the economic sense, the royal domain situated within the *hnw* (for the direct support of the royal court), as well as distributed over Egypt (the basic supply-base);
- an institution provided with a range of executive and supporting services and departments (e.g. *pr-nbw*; *h3 n pr-nsw*, *h3 n t3ty*);
- its overall executive head is the vizier, assisted by the overseer of the treasury.

In the analyses of the various occ. of the term we will refer to this scheme. One important conclusion may be singled out here already: according to our text, an important element in the powerbase of the vizier as chief official of Egypt is his function of managing director of the *pr-nsw*, the centre of royal government ⁹⁶.

23. *in wpwty.f didi hpr m sš* - A peculiar feature of the text is the archaizing way in which the verb *hpr* is written ⁹⁷:



- R8 (1st occ.), R12, R14, R22



- R8 (2nd occ.).

The first writing is found occasionally in the CT, e.g. III, 389c; FCD, 189 s.v. citing TR, 17, 1. The second one occurs from the Pyr. T. (cf. Speleers, *T. Pyr.*, 363 s.v.) down to the 18th dyn., e.g., Urk IV, 245,17 (Hatshepsut).

Note the ellipse of the object after *hpr*, as in the parallel sentence in R4 ⁹⁸. The phrase *hpr m sš* occurs only here. In R21 we find twice: *iri m sš* (Wb I, 109, 16-7). This suggests that we are *not* dealing with similar phrases. The interpretation of the sentence is more or less suggested by the parallel in R4 where a vizier's messenger sees to it that specific operations take place. Here, the messenger ⁹⁹ sees to

⁹⁶ Consequently, we may suggest that his office, the *h3 n t3ty*, was located in the *pr-nsw*, cf. Hayes, JNES 10 (1951), 177 (NK).

⁹⁷ Cf. Van den Boorn, *Date*, 377. For a survey of its meanings, cf. Lorton, JT, 111-2.

⁹⁸ Cf. p. 50 note 33 above.

⁹⁹ A8 has *wpwtyw*.

it that the viziral instruction to open the doorways of the *pr-nsw* is carried out by means of a written order (*sš*) to that effect. He is instructed to "let the traffic happen /occur". The written order (*sš*) was probably directed by the messenger to the personnel guarding the doorways. They may have been posted in the *mnww* of R2.

It is interesting to note the rather independent position occupied by the messenger in permitting the traffic to and from the *hnw* in R4, while with regard to the traffic to and from the *pr-nsw* he acts upon personal order from the vizier.

SECTION 4 R8 – R9

Pl. 1; 4

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------------|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVI, 8–9; CXIX, 8–9
Urk IV, 1107, 3–9 | |
| II | B, 275
F, 936–7
D, 90
S, 111–2 | H, 32
J, 64
L, 437 |
| III | Van den Boorn,
JNES 44 (1985), 23–24
GEG, § 239 | R8–R9
R9, partly |

TRANSLITERATION

- R8 *m rdī(w) šhm sr nb m wd'–r(y)t m h3.f; īr hpr sk r*
- R9 *w' m n3 n srw imy h3.f, hr.f dī.f in.t(w).f r ['] ryt: [i] n t3ty hsf n.f*
[r–wd3t iw.f; m rdī(w) šhm sr nb m hwt m [.....
A9: h3.f; smī.t(w)[n] .f wd'(w) nb
[.....], dī.f a) sw r.f.
[nty r h3

VARIANTS

- a) Davies suggests a form *rdī* in R9 (Pl. 4). This is not confirmed by the facsimile (Pl. 1). A9 has *dī*.

TRANSLATION

- R8 It is not to be allowed ¹ that any (chief) official ² controls ³ the dispensation of justice ⁴ in his (own) bureau ⁵. When a severe accusation ⁶ is levelled at
- R9 one of the officials in his bureau ⁷, he (the chief official) will see to it, that he (the subordinate official) is taken ⁸ to the 'ryt ⁹: it is the vizier who will punish him according to his offence ¹⁰. It is not to be

allowed that any (chief) official controls (punishment by) beating ¹¹ in his (own) bureau. Anyone who has to be judged and thus falls under the competency of the bureau (of the vizier) ¹², will have to be reported to ¹³ him (the chief official), so that he (idem) may hand him (the subordinate official) over to it (the bureau of the vizier).

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

A graphic arrangement of section 4 appears to present the following picture:

	A. (R8-R9)	B. (R9)	
1	<i>m rdi(w) shm sr nb m</i> <i>wq'-r(y)t</i> <i>m h3.f</i>	<i>m rdi(w) shm sr nb m</i> <i>hwt</i> <i>m h3.f</i>	1
2	<i>ir hpr sk r</i> <i>w' m n3 n srw imy h3.f</i> <i>hr.f di.f in.t(w).f r'ryt</i> <i>in t3ty hsf n.f r-wd3t iw.f</i>	<i>smi.t(w) n.f</i> <i>wq'(w) nb nty r h3</i> <i>di.f sw r.f</i>	2

Fig. 6

The structure of section 4 (R8-R9).

Section 4 consists of two units, the stipulations A and B. The units are headed by two main clauses, A1 en B1, that have exactly the same structure, except for their respective key terms. This patterning is the same as found in sections 2 and 3, cf. p. 43 fig. 3. In this respect, therefore, section 4 can be taken together with 2 and 3. The reason for isolating the section is that it is a first instance of a section provided with a dual set-up: two units of clauses, pertaining to the same subject matter, constitute one, independent section. The formal structure of the section, as represented in fig. 6, allows for a number of observations. In doing so, it will prove necessary to anticipate parts of the commentary below. For the moment, the reader is referred to my remarks in JNES 44 (1985), 23-24.

- 1) Apart from the formal-syntactical parallelism, A1 and B1 show a resemblance in contents: both formulate prohibitions for chief officials in their respective bureaus.
- 2) A2 and B2 formulate procedures - to be followed by the chief officials -, that result from the prohibitions in A and B.

At first sight, these are the obvious relationships between the four parts of the section. Interestingly enough, a closer look reveals others.

- 3) The two main aspects of a juridical proceeding, represented in the key terms *wq'-ryt* and *hwt*, viz., the judgment and the punishment, are each the subject of a separate prohibition, A1

and B1. However, prohibition A1 appears to be followed, not by a procedure A2 which first of all pertains to the aspect treated by A1, but by a procedure that pertains rather to its counterpart in B1. Equally, prohibition B1 is followed by a procedure B2, which one would expect rather to follow A1.

The result is an internal cross-pattern between the four parts, as regards the main features of their respective contents (see *fig. 6*)¹.

- 4) Consequently, one can theorize that A1 not only has its "counterpart" in B1, but also in A2; B1 not only in A1, but also in B2.

It is evident that the present section has acquired literary styling according to a well-conceived plan by the author. He has provided it with a formal pattern, that agrees with the one found in the two previous sections. In addition, as regards contents, he has given it a typical internal cross-pattern. In joining the four parts in this way, he has created a tight inner balance that makes the section as a whole into a self-contained unit: he has achieved styling in outward appearance as well as in inner arrangement².

The result is a stylized, concise and at the same time consistent and full statement on the legal matter of administration of justice in the bureaucracy of departmental officials. The statement describes the duties of a vizier, as well as those of his chief officials in governmental bureaus.

COMMENTARY

General note.

In Excursus II to my article "*Wd'-ryt* and Justice at the Gate" (JNES 44 (1985), 1-25), I have given a brief analysis and a translation of the present section together with a commentary on essentials. In order to avoid a useless repetition, the commentary below will be generally kept as brief as possible. The reader is referred to the pertinent parts of that article (cited as "Justice"). Apart from these references, it will contain minor points, additions and modifications and, of course, matters of interpretation.

1. *m rdi(w)* - Vetitive construction, cf. GEG, § 340, 3. The same

¹ The curious result of this phenomenon is that the procedural follow-up of A1 is found - as regards its contents - in B2, and the follow-up of B1 in A2: see the cross-pattern of key words *wd'-ryt* - *wd'(w) nb* in A1 / B2 and *hwt* - *hsf* in B1 / A2.

² Although not as prominent as in section 4, the latter aspect is also present in sections 2 and 3, where we noted the similarities in phrases following the initial words (as a formal feature), and especially the interlocking of the sections, cf. p. 43.

formation recurs in R9, twice in R10 and once in R17³.

2. *sr nb* - As the result of our interpretation of the suffix *.f* in *h3.f* in the last part of this clause, as pertaining to *sr nb* (and not to the vizier, see below), we have to assume that the present section deals with two categories of officials:
 - 1) chief officials, heads of a bureau or department (*h3*)
 - reference of *.f* is to these persons in *h3.f* (R8; R9), in *hr.f dī.f* (R9), in *smī.t(w) n .f* (R9), in *dī.f* (R9).
 - 2) subordinate officials, working in the *h3* 's of the chief officials
 - *w' m n3 n srw imy h3.f* (R9) refers to these persons, as also does the suffix *.f* in *in.t(w).f* (R9), in *hsf n.f* (R9), in *iw.f* (R9), the dependent pronoun *sw* (R9) and the phrase *wd'(w) nb* (R9).

The various scholars quoted in the heading of the section have run into difficulties in rendering these lines consistently. The problems arise when the first group of references is considered to pertain to the vizier and not to (chief) officials.

The existence of a hierarchy of officials is clearly indicated in R10: *...sr m š3' m sr tp(y) nfryt r sr n nfryt* (cf. p. 24; 90). A similar phrase is found in R24 (cf. p. 230).

3. *šhm m* - "To have power over, to control", cf. Van den Boorn, Justice, 23 n. 106.
4. *wd'-r(y)t* - In JNES 44 (1985), 1-25, I reached the conclusion that this composite verb may ultimately be rendered: "to judge (as the representative of a/the higher authority)". When used as a qualification (participle), the term appears to refer to a function-related authorization to judge, derived explicitly from the office held by the official concerned. In this sense, the term is attested in the NK for viziers and an overseer of the treasury. Here, the verb is used with an active verbal meaning (infinitive), conveying the same notion.
The chief official is not allowed to pass judgment on officials working in his bureau. Apparently, the right to do so is not related to his office and has not been delegated to him. According to the text (R9), a subordinate official, who has to be judged, falls under the competency of the bureau of the vizier (stipulation B2, see below). It is the vizier who will punish him in the *'ryt* (stipulation A). The chief official is ordered to hand the official concerned over to the bureau of the vizier and to the *'ryt*. In this way, the vizier can carry out his duty, viz., the judgment and the punishment of subordinate officials.
5. *h3.f* - The only way to avoid serious trouble in translating this section in a consistent way, is to assume that the suffix *.f* does *not* refer here to the vizier, but points to the *sr nb* just mentioned, cf.

3 The phrase is reminiscent of the OK formula *n rdī.n.ī šhm* found in decrees, cf. Helck, *Aktenkunde*, 117-9.

Van den Boorn, Justice, 24 n. 107. See also above, p. 80.

Consequently, the section appears to deal with the administration of justice by the vizier to officials (*srw*) working in the various offices or departments of the government (*h3w*). R15 contains a reference to these offices: *ir sšw nb h(3)bw t3ty [r.f hr] h3 nb, nty...* etc., "As for any type of document, that the vizier sends (for concerning) any office" (cf. p. 134ff. below).

6. *sk* - An extremely rare noun ⁴. Lit. probably "something that causes destruction", derived from the verb *ski*, "to perish, etc.", cf. Van den Boorn, Justice, 24 n. 108.
7. *w' m n3 n srw imy h3.f* - For the preposition *m* after *w'*, see above p. 73. For *n3*, as a determinative pronoun, see above p. 23. Note that the nisbe-form *imy* shows no traces of an ending or plural-indication. It has become invariable, as usual in 18th dyn. texts.
8. *hr.f di.f in.t(w).f* - A *hr.f sdm.f* construction that gives the apodosis of this conditional sentence a futural-deductive reference, cf. GEG, § 239; James, *Hekanakhte*, 105-6. See chapter 2.4.1 below.
9. '*ryt* - In JNES 44 (1985), 1-25 ⁵, I established the basic meaning of this elusive term as "the area in front of a religious or secular centre of authority, including its main gate, as an integral part of that building". The term can be associated with what we would call a non-judicial as well as a judicial aspect. Functional interpretations of the area as "department", "entrance-area", "meeting- or reception-area", or "audience- or waiting-area (for officials)" cover the former aspect, while interpretations such as "place of judgment" and "storage of legal records", cover the latter. Both aspects are based on the conceptual background of the '*ryt* as "sole line of communication and transitional area between the outer world and an enclosed world (temple, palace, or the like)".

The relationship between the first aspect and this background is clear. For the second aspect, I have given the following explanation:

⁴ The Wb (IV, 313, 11-3) lists four other instances: MK stela Berlin 1950; Urk IV, 40, 6; 60, 15 and a passage in the tomb of Aba from the Late Period. Add: Guksch, *Benja*, 22 fig. 9a l. 10 (18th dyn.). It is evident, that the early NK had a certain preference for the noun, esp. in the phrase: *n hpr sk.i*, "there occurred no accusation against me".

⁵ In this article, the reader may also find parallels and additional evidence for the various aspects treated below. I have refrained from referring to the same article in each instance, as far as possible. To the material on '*ryt* assembled there, add: Spencer, *Temple*, 147-55; 168-9; Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 320 (4.27). On the re-erection of a MK portico, called *sbht* in the Late Period, note Sauneron, BIFAO 64 (1966), 11-7.

as the front or entrance area of a religious or secular centre of authority, and as the main area of contact between the country and the enclosed world of a temple or a palace, the 'ryt is above-all the place where the august inhabitant(s) of the latter – the god(s), the pharaoh, or their representative(s) – can present themselves in their official functions to the outside world. One of these functions is the dispensation of justice.

The term occurs seven times in our text. We can arrange the occ. according to the two aspects described above. As will transpire from the pertinent occ., there has to be made allowance for a certain overlap of both aspects (e.g. occ. I, 2-3). Unfortunately, the fragmentary preservation of four occ. (in the last part of the text) renders their context quite obscure.

I. 'ryt with non-juridical aspect.

- 1) R29-R30,]nb innt(?) n¹ 'rryt drpt nb n 'rryt,
"all[] brought to a) the 'rryt, everything offered to a) the 'rryt" (cf. p. 284ff. below).

a. For the preposition *n* instead of *r*, see below p. 97.

- Commodities are brought and offered to the 'ryt ⁶. Their meaning remains unclear (taxes, rents, deliveries, gifts?). Their purpose is equally obscure ⁷, although one might speculate that they have something to do with the *pr-nbw* (and the *pr-nsw*), in view of the two following sentences, where the vizier is said to institute a hearing concerning them and to open the *pr-nbw* together with the *imy-r htm* (for this sentence, see also above p. 62). 'ryt can be interpreted here as "entrance-area" (to the *pr-nsw*?).

- 2) R27-R28, ntf dhn dhnw nb r 'ryt,
"It is he who appoints everyone who has to be appointed to the 'ryt" (cf. p. 86; 278ff. below).

- The vizier is charged with the appointment of personnel to the 'ryt. This implies that the 'ryt is an institution or department ⁸. Consequently, we may assume that the 'ryt is supervised by the vizier, since controlling its personnel means controlling its activities.

⁶ For a comparable phrase, see Caminos, *Osorkon*, § 28, 18; p. 20 n. (o).
⁷ Helck, *Verwaltung*, 38 n. (f) suggests, that they are intended for the nourishment of the "guard" ("die Wache" = 'ryt), which seems stretching the evidence.
⁸ Cf. Van den Boorn, *Justice*, 19 and n. 86 (to be slightly modified, see below).

- 3) R11, *in wpwt.f itt h3tyw-' hk3w hwwt n 'ryt*,
 "It is his message that takes the mayors and the leaders of settlements to ^{a)} the '*ryt*'" (cf. p. 95ff, below).

a. See note (a) to I, 1 above.

- When local officials are ordered to come to the vizier, his message to that effect takes them to the '*ryt*', implying that '*ryt*' functions here as "entrance-, reception- and audience-area".

- 4) R36, *iry-'3 n 'rryt*,
 "door-keeper of the '*ryt*'" (cf. p. 289ff, below).

- The context is utterly obscure ⁹. The guard, as a member of the personnel, has been appointed by the vizier (I,2 above).

II. '*ryt* with juridical aspect.

- 1) R32, *]hr mdt nbt n 'rryt*,
 "]with regard to every juridical issue ^{a)} of (?) the '*rryt*'" (cf. p. 286ff, below).

a. This meaning of *mdt* may be inferred from R15 (see p. 130).

- The context is too lapidary to attempt a further interpretation.

- 2) R9, the first part of the section under discussion,

- Here, the '*ryt*' functions as the area where the vizier will execute the punishment of convicted officials.

It can be inferred from the seven occ., that in our text '*ryt*' is a department (I,2) with its own personnel (I,2; I,4) under the supervision of the vizier (I,2). It receives local officials, summoned by the vizier (I,3), and unknown commodities are brought to it (I,1). The vizier uses the '*ryt*' as the area where to punish officials of governmental offices (II,2).

The question arises as to where the '*ryt*' was located. According to our analysis (see above), it must have been the entrance area of a secular centre of authority ¹⁰.

The vizier uses his own office for hearing (R1; R13), investigating (R12; cf. R28) and judging officials (R9, see below p. 86). As head of the '*ryt*', he uses the area for receiving local officials (R11) and

⁹ Helck's interpretation (*Verwaltung*, 40) must be rejected as too speculative.

¹⁰ Evidently, a religious building is excluded in our text.

punishing guilty officials (R8-R9). There is made a clear distinction between the two "areas" in the text. At the same time, he uses *both* in juridical proceedings. This would suggest, that the 'ryt lies in the neighbourhood of his *h3*. Previously, we have pointed out that his office seems to be located in the *pr-nsw* ¹¹. The gateways of the latter are controlled by the vizier (R8), and he appears to be its managing director ¹². We may suggest, therefore, that the 'ryt - in The Duties - is the entrance area of the *pr-nsw*, including its main gate ¹³.

Seen in this perspective, the commodities brought to the 'ryt in occ. I,1 may relate to the incoming and outgoing traffic of the *pr-nsw* of R3-R4 ¹⁴. The latter are said to be controlled by the vizier. For this reason, the vizier can institute a hearing concerning them in R30. The appointment of personnel to the 'ryt (occ. I,2) agrees with the fact that he controls the *sb3 nb n pr-nsw*, R8 (see also his appointment of officials in the *h3 n pr-nsw*, R25): his control over these gateways is corroborated by his control over the 'ryt (the 'ryt incorporates its main gateway!) in occ. I,2. Therefore, it is here that local officials, summoned by the vizier, have to present themselves (occ. I,3).

The presence of personnel, the reception of commodities and people, the execution of punishments, they all point to the 'ryt being a kind of building (or a series of buildings), erected on the front area of the *pr-nsw* ¹⁵. Therefore, we can answer the question raised above with the suggestion that the 'ryt in The Duties seems to have been the front area of the *pr-nsw*. As an integral part of that complex (see above), it denotes a (block of) building(s), situated there and supervised by the vizier (who also supervises the *pr-nsw* itself).

We may return now to occ. II,2. When an accusation is levelled at an official working in a governmental office (in the residence-city, see chapter 3.2.2 and 3.4), his superior has to have him brought to this branch of the bureaucratic apparatus of the vizier. There, the vizier will execute the punishment as representative of the overall authority, the Pharaoh ¹⁶.

10. *[i] n t3ty hsf n.f r-wd3t iw.f* - A combination of the signs in R9 and W3 makes the restoration *[i] n* certain. For its writing in W3, see p. 55. From the MK onward, the preposition *n* is used to introduce

¹¹ Cf. p. 75 note 96.

¹² Cf. p. 74ff.

¹³ A modification of my earlier view in Justice, 19 note 86. For the 'ryt of a *pr-nsw*, e.g., MK stela of Wepwaut-Aa, cf. Sethe, *Lesest.*, 74 l. 13-4, see also Spencer, *Temple*, 153-4.

¹⁴ We may suggest now, that the deliveries of R29-R30 have something to do with supplies etc. for the *pr-nsw*.

¹⁵ Cf. Van den Boorn, Justice, 10-4.

¹⁶ We note that the private living quarters of the King, the *pr-'3*, are situated in the *pr-nsw* (cf. p. 67 fig. 5). The 'ryt of the *pr-nsw* functions, therefore, as the channel between the outside world and the *pr-nsw* (plus *pr-'3*).

the object after *hsf* ¹⁷. The reading *wd3t* follows Megally, *Notions*, 70-8. The noun *iw* may be rendered "evil, sin, guilt, injustice, etc." ¹⁸. The required sense has to be inferred apparently from the context. Here, I would suggest a meaning "offence" ¹⁹. The text does not specify this offence. Consequently, we may assume that it pertains to every type of illegal act or conduct by the subordinate official in function.

The present participial statement describes the role and duty of the vizier in the matter of dispensation of justice to officials in governmental bureaus, the key notion of the section. It constitutes the legal base for the prohibition formulated in stipulation A1 (see p. 78 fig. 6): a chief official is not allowed to judge his subordinates, *because* it is the vizier who has to punish him (after having judged the man - a notion to be inferred from stipulation B2 through the internal cross-pattern of the section, cf. p. 78 fig. 6). The same configuration of prohibitions and stipulations with following participial statements as their legal base, is found in section 5 (viz., R10-R11).

11. *hwt* - Infinitive of *hwi*, "to beat", in the present context acquiring the sense of "beating" as corporal punishment, "bastonnade" ²⁰. According to Lorton, the first instance of the bastonnade, resulting from a lawsuit, may be found in the P. Mook (= P. München 809), dating to the reign of Tuthmosis IV ²¹. Cautiously, he adds that the MK Instruction for Merikare might refer to the punishment in a legal context ²², and that the bastonnade regularly occurs from the OK onwards as an "on-the-spot-action" ²³. The first reference in a legal context, however, would be the P. Mook.
From the whole atmosphere of the present section it is evident that *hwi*, as a punishment, is mentioned in a strictly juridical and legal context: the prohibition is formulated in a fixed, legalistic phrase; its legal base is described by implication in what follows in R9 (the bastonnade may only be applied as the result of a verdict by the vizier, see below); the correct procedure is indicated separately (R9).

¹⁷ Cf. Wb III, 336, 15-8; e.g., Volten, *Pol. Schriften*, 12 (P31).
¹⁸ Wb I, 48, 5-10; FCD, 12; Zandee, *Death*, 286; Edel, ZÄS, 81 (1956), 8; Grimal, *Pi*, 174 n. 519.
¹⁹ Compare Helck, *Verwaltung*, 32, "seiner Verfehlung".
²⁰ Cf. Wb III, 46-7.
²¹ Lorton, TC, 23-4; P. München 809, l. 4-5, cf. Allam, *Tafelteil*, Pl. 102-3; Spiegelberg, ZÄS 63 (1928), 105-15.
²² Lorton, TC, 13; Merikare, P48-9: *hsf.k m hwy m s3wy*, "(if) you punish with beatings and with detention...", cf. Volten, *Pol. Schriften*, 22-3.
²³ Lorton, TC, 24 n. 110. See also Peasant B1, 28; 186-8; compare O.MMA neg. no. CN 29, 6, cf. Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 35; Brunner, *Erziehung*, 56.

Evidently, Lorton has overlooked the passage under discussion ²⁴. In R13, we will encounter another corporal punishment in a legal context: *sw3 't*, "the cutting off of a limb". Proceeding from Lorton's distinction of an older and a younger penal system in ancient Egypt, the appearance of heavy corporal punishments in our text will appear to have consequences for its hitherto assumed date of composition. For elaborations of this point, I refer to the phrase in R13, p. 119 below ²⁵.

12. *wd'(w) nb nty r h3* - Helck's rendering "jedes Urteil" (*Verwaltung*, 32) must be rejected for reasons of consistency ²⁶. We propose to translate the form as a passive, perfective participle with an implicit notion of obligation ²⁷, "anyone who has to be judged", viz., any subordinate official who is suspected of some kind of wrongdoing. Two more instances of participles with this notion may be found in the well-preserved parts of the text:

R27-R28 *ntf dhn dhnw nb r 'ryt*, "It is he who appoints anyone who has to be appointed to the 'ryt", cf. above p. 82 and below p. 278ff.

R28 *iw n.f šnw nb m pr-nsu*, "It is to him that anyone, who has to be interrogated in the *pr-nsu*, has to come" cf. p. 280 below.

N.B. For the occ. in the fragmentary Final Columns we may refer to chapter 1.3.

We note that in the two cited instances *nb* generalizes the person denoted by the participle as a member of a generic collective, which is subsequently specified in an additional phrase (*r 'ryt*; *m pr-nsu*). The same happens in the phrase under discussion, although in a more complex way. *Wd'(w) nb* functions as the antecedent to a relative clause introduced by *nty* with "generic reference" ²⁸. The clause specifies the institution to which *wd'(w) nb qualitate qua* belongs, viz., the *h3* (of the vizier) ²⁹: anyone who has to be judged "belongs" to it, *because* he has to be judged. It is the duty of the chief official to hand the person over to it for trial and punishment (*dif sw r.f*, R9). Literally, we may render "anyone who has to be judged, who

24 The statue Louvre E.11673 (Tuthmosis III) might contain another instance of *hwi* as a legal punishment, predating Tuthmosis IV, cf. De Linage, BIFAO 38 (1939), 219 l. 13-4.

25 For the moment, I refer to Van den Boorn, Date, 372-3.

26 Cf. Van den Boorn, Justice, 24 n. 10.

27 GEG, § 371; LGEC, § 436. See chapter 2.4.1.

28 Cf. Griffiths, JEA 54 (1968), 60-6. Compare R26: *ndrt nb nty r 'w3t* (p. 257ff.).

29 Note the absence here of the suffix .f, indicating that no reference is made to *h3.f* in the beginning of the sentence, but to the *h3* in general, viz., the bureau of the vizier, cf. Van den Boorn, Justice, 24 n. 112.

(therefore) belongs to the bureau (of the vizier)". We have given a more free translation to convey the sense into proper English.

13. [n] – A necessary emendation after *smi.t(w)*, cf. Van den Boorn, Justice, 24 n. 113.

SECTION 5 R9 – R13

Pl. 1. 4–5

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVI, 9–13; CXIX,9 – CXX,13
Urk IV, 1107,11 – 1108,14 | |
| II | B, 275–6
F, 938–9
D, 91
S, 112 | H, 32–3
J, 64 (R9 – middle of R10)
L, 437 |
| III | Valloggia, <i>Messagers</i> , 95–6
Westendorf, <i>Passiv</i> , 58–9
Vergote, FP, 356 | R9–R11 (as far as lacuna)
R10 (partly)
R11–R12 (partly) |

TRANSLITERATION

R9 *ʔir wpwty nb*

R10 *h(3)bw t3ty m wpwt n sr m š3'[-m] sr tp(y) nfryt r sr n*
[
nfryt, m rdī(w) hnn.f, m rdī(w) st3.f[hr.....]
A10:]p3 sr; dd.f t3 wpwt nt
t3ty, iw.f a) 'h'(w) m-b3h

R11 *p3 sr hr dd t3(y).f wpwt hn' prt r 'h'w.f; in wpwt.f itt h3tyw-' hk3w-*
hwwt n 'ryt, in wpwty.f didī tp[.....]wpwt[y].f hr 'n'n r dd:
"h(3)b.kw(y) b)

R12 *m wpwt n sr mn, rdī.n.f st3.t(w).ī rdī.n.f dī.tw nkt hr nhbt.ī", sdm*
hpr(w) p3 sr [h] n' [p3 r-] wq3t n3 šny st hr.s in t3ty m

R13 *h3.f m idryt nbt m-h3w-hr hsf m sw3 't.*

VARIANTS

- a) Note the interesting writing of *iw.f* in A10 with "flesh" sign Signlist F 51, with deviating downward curve: Q (and not Q).
- b) For the writings in R11 and A11, see below p. 112.

TRANSLATION

- R9 As for any messenger
- R10 whom the vizier sends with a message ¹ to an official, from the highest (lit. first) official to the lowest official ²: it is not allowed that he has to bow, it is not allowed that he is ushered in [to] the official ³. He tells ⁴ the message of the vizier, standing in front of
- R11 the official ⁵ while saying his message ⁶, and (then) he goes out (back) to his post ⁷. It is his message ⁸ that takes ⁹ the mayors and settlement-leaders ¹⁰ to ⁹ the 'ryt; it is his messenger who gives [instructions to that effect ¹¹. Now, if] his messenger ¹² [comes] complaining ¹³: "While I was sent ¹⁴
- R12 with a message to official N ¹⁵, he had me ushered in (and) he caused something to be put in my neck ¹⁶", a hearing (having been) held of the official together with [the messenger, it is the vizier who punishes him (official N) in] accordance ¹⁷ with the matter, about which they have been interrogated by the vizier in
- R13 his bureau ¹⁸, with any type of repression ¹⁹, in addition to ²⁰ punishing with the cutting off of a limb ²¹.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

A graphic arrangement of the section presents the following picture.

1. <i>ir wpwty nb...nfryt,</i>	R9–R10	persons involved	A
2. <i>m rdi(w) hnn.f</i> <i>m rdi(w) st3.f [hr] p3 sr.</i>	R10	prohibitions	
3. <i>dd.f t3 wpwt... 'h'w.f</i>	R10–R11	correct procedure	
4. <i>in wpwt.f itt...</i> <i>in wpwty.f didi...</i>	R11	dogmatic base	
[lacuna...] <i>wpwty.f...</i> <i>... sw3 't.</i>	R11– R13	description of <i>casus</i>	B

Fig. 7
The structure of section 5.

Section 5 consists of two parts, A and B. A contains a meticulous description of the correct way to treat the messenger of the vizier, valid for any official to whom he is sent. B describes the *casus* of an official having violated the regulations of A, and the penal measures taken by the vizier.

The section is tied to section 4 through the phraseology of A.2, and to sections 4-3-2 in the phraseology of A.4. Part A is clearly provided with a stylized pattern: two sentences (viz. A.1, A.3) alternate with two units of clauses (viz. A.2, A.4). The units A.2 and A.4 can be connected with the patterns of sections 2-4 (cf. p. 43 fig. 3; p. 78 fig. 6). However, the alternation of the pattern: 1-2-1-2 is new. On the other hand, Part B seems to void of literary styling. In this respect, the layout of section 5 can be compared with the one of section 1. There, we found styling in the rhythmical enumeration of "regalia" and personnel (R1-R2), followed by a concise description of a case of violation of court-procedure (R2-R3), that stood in marked contrast to the style of the first part (p. 13ff.).

COMMENTARY

1. *h(3)bw t3ty m wpwt* - The ending -w might indicate that the relative form *h(3)bw* has durative nature ¹. Note the short writing of *h(3)b*, as in e.g., R7, R11, R17, R19 ². I have rendered *wpwt*, "message" because in R11 it is communicated by speech ³. The contents of the message will be specified in R11 (p. 97).
2. *sr m-š3'-m sr tp(y) nfryt r sr n nfryt* - Our text is the first to attest the compound preposition *m-š3'-m* ⁴. It is quite possible that we are dealing with the "m of predication", followed by the compound preposition *š3'-m* ⁵. The latter is regularly used in combination with the phrase *nfryt r* to denote the notion "beginning with..., ending at..." ⁶. The resulting group *š3'-m...nfryt r...* is also first attested in the NK, and can be provided with time-reference, as well as place-reference ⁷. With Gardiner, we assume that the expression in our context conveys a metaphorical notion of hierarchy, derived from the place-reference ⁸. The phrase *n nfryt*,

1 Cf. GEG, §§ 358; 387,1; LGEC, § 478.

2 Cf. Van den Boorn, Date 377; James *Hekanakhte*, 97 (g).

3 For the various aspects of *wpwt* and its use after certain verbs, see Valloggia, *Messagers*, 20-6; cf. Fischer, CN, 63-4. Note its meaning "order" (for the production of items), cf. Allam, HOPR, 40 n. 1.

4 Wb IV, 408, 3-4; FCD, 261.

5 Wb IV, 407, 8-16.

6 Wb II, 262, 13-6; IV, 407, 10.

7 See last note and Megally, *Rech.*, 61-3; id., *Notions*, 40; AL II, 368 (4032). Note the strange *nfryt r š3'* in O. DeM 624, cf. Allam, HOPR, 143-4 n. 3.

8 GEG, § 179 B, n. 10; against Megally, *Rech.*, 62 n. 6.

lit. "of the end", appears to be unique ⁹. It is evident, that its use has been inspired here by the foregoing element *nfryt r*, to mark the opposition with *sr tp(y)*: a "neologistic" detail, that again betrays a literary touch.

The reason for the author's preference for the use of such a complex and elaborate circumscription is evidently that he wants to stress the fact that the following prohibitions (in R10) are valid for each and every official in Egypt ¹⁰. The same goes for the correct procedure that follows the prohibitions (in R10-R11). In the general rules, formulated in R11, this circumscription is narrowed down to *h3tyw-'hk3w-hwwt*, "the mayors and settlement-leaders" (see below) ¹¹.

3. *m rdī(w) hnn.f, m rdī(w) st3.f [hr] p3 sr* - In order to reach a correct interpretation of the two prohibitions, we have to discuss four points.

- 1) the traces of a *-t* after *hnn*, indicated by Davies (Pl. 4).
- 2) the verb-form of *hnn* and *st3*.
- 3) the meaning of *hnn*.
- 4) the connection between the R and A-W texts in the lacuna after *st3.f* in R10.

- 1) On Pl. 4, Davies indicates traces after *hnn*, suggesting an ending *-t*: **hnn.t*. However, the facsimile, Pl. 1, clearly shows, that there is no room for a *-t* between the 2nd *n* and *.f*. Moreover, a form **hnn.t* would not agree with *st3.f* in the parallel prohibition (both verbs are 3-lit.). Therefore, we have to cancel Davies' traces ¹². Consequently, we are dealing with a form *hnn.f*.

- 2) We have to proceed from the assumption, that the suffix *.f*, in *hnn.f* and *st3.f*, is the semantic object of the verbs ¹³. Lefèbvre has interpreted the verb-form as a passive *sdm.f* ¹⁴. Gardiner

⁹ Wb II, 262, 11 Belegstellen. It recurs in R24: *ī3t nbt h3t-r ī3t n nfryt*, cf. p. 230 below.

¹⁰ Similar elaborate and precise circumscriptions can be found in roughly contemporary sources of a legal nature, e.g., Decree of Horemheb, ll. 16, 33: *'nh nb n mš' rmt nb nty m t3 r-dr.f*, "every person of the army, every man in the whole country" (as people subject to a certain legal prescription), cf. Kruchten, DH, 28; 31-2; 116.

¹¹ Compare the complex indication, quoted in the last note, which is subsequently narrowed down to *nmhy*, "(every) private person, commoner", cf. Kruchten, DH, 31-3.

¹² Cf. Sethe, *Einsetzung*, 21 n. 91.

¹³ After a vetitive construction, a *sdm.f* could be possible (cf. GEG, §§ 338, 2; 340, 3). However, the tenor of the prohibition demands the opposite sense: *wpwty* (= *.f*), as object of the verbal actions, not as subject. In R12, we find the explicit statement, that the *wpwty* has been the object of the verb: *rdī.n.f st3.t(w).ī* (cf. p. 112 below).

¹⁴ LGEC, § 300.

and Westendorf, however, stress the fact that a passive *sḡm.f* with pronominal subject is by no means common, and unequivocal examples after *rdī* are hard to find ¹⁵. For this reason, Westendorf preferred to interpret the forms as infinitives ¹⁶. Both *hnn* and *st3* are transitive verbs (see below). Therefore, the suffixes can be treated as their semantic objects. We have transferred the prohibitions partly into the passive, in order to convey its sense in normal English (lit.: "do not allow bending him, do not allow introducing him").

- 3) The verb *st3*, "to draw, to drag", is commonly used to denote the introduction of people into the presence of superiors or high-ranking persons ¹⁷. This suggests, that the meaning of *hnn* may be sought in the sphere of ceremonial introduction and court-procedure. We have three indications to that effect.

- *Hnn* and *st3* are the key terms in two prohibitions concerning the correct treatment of a vizier's messenger. In the sentence following the prohibitions, the correct behaviour of the messenger is described (and, by implication, of the *sr* who receives him): "He will say the message of the vizier, *standing* in front of the official while saying his message...". Emphasis is laid on the fact, that he is standing during the audience.

- The last part of the present section deals with the violation of the prohibitions of R10 by an official to whom the messenger was sent. (cf. p. 89 fig. 7). The affront is described by the messenger as (R12): "he caused me to be ushered in, he caused something to be put on my neck" (cf. p. 112ff. below). We note, that in the prohibition (R10), as well as in the description by the messenger (R12), the verb *st3* is used. Therefore, we may suggest that the phrase *rdī.n.f dī.tw nkt ḥr nhbt.ī* (R12) equals the notion of *hnn* (R10) ¹⁸.

- In the tomb of Rekhmire, the text of The Duties is associated with a scene, in which the vizier is represented in session, receiving supplicants ¹⁹. The central part of the scene pictures two persons being introduced into the presence of the vizier (see fig. 8). Their posture seems to illustrate, as it were, the notions conveyed by *st3* and *hnn*:

¹⁵ GEG, § 420; Westendorf, *Passiv*, 29–30; 38; 58.

¹⁶ Westendorf, *Passiv*, 58–9.

¹⁷ Cf. Wb IV, 353, 1–13; FCD, 255; Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 307.

¹⁸ Cf. Van den Boorn, *Date*, 370 n. 13.

¹⁹ Davies, Pl. XXV. The first line of the legend (*ibid.*, Pl. XXIV) reads: *ḥmst r sḡm sprw m ḥ3 n t3ty*, "Session to hear supplicants in the bureau of the vizier". See Newberry, *Rekhmara*, Pl. IV, for a combined view on the scene. The present argument is based on a suggestion of Helck, *Verwaltung*, 33.

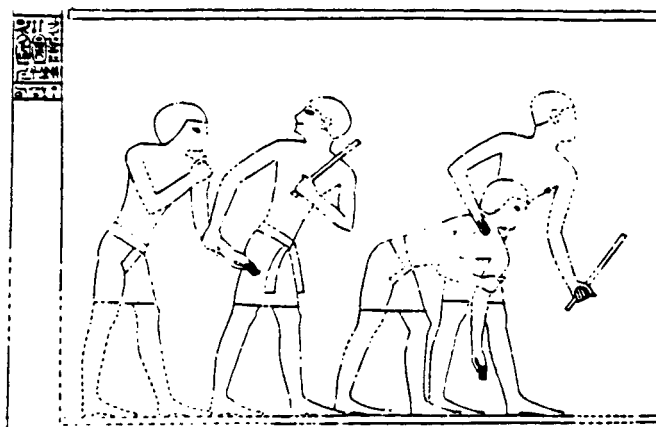


Fig. 8

The introduction to the vizier (after Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. XXV).

One man is being taken by the arm by a court official (*st3*), another man is being bent down by the hand of a second official (*hnn*). Apparently, this is the correct procedure of introduction of a *sprw*, "suppliant", to the vizier. Here we may note that our text has both terms in the order as indicated in the scene: *hnn* – *st3*, and not in the chronological order of events: *st3* – *hnn*. This tends to strengthen our conviction that the scene and this part of the text are related.

The basic meaning of *hnn* is "to bend, to bow, to incline" ²⁰. Peculiarly enough, the most common use of the verb is in a metaphorical way, "to attend to, to consent, to approve etc." ²¹. In view of the remarks above, we have to assume, that *hnn* has been used here in its basic, transitive sense. In a MK context, that would be virtually unique; in a NK context, when the verb is altogether common in its metaphorical sense, this remains a remarkable fact ²².

- 4) Pl. 4 indicates, that between *st3.f* in R9 and *p3 sr* in A10/W5, there remains a lacuna of about one group. Sethe (Urk IV,

²⁰ Wb II, 494, DLE II, 83; 85; Van den Boorn, Date, 370–1.

²¹ See last note; FCD, 159; Lurje, SAR, 112–4; Sethe, *Einsetzung*, 21–2 n. 91; Helck, *Aktenkunde*, 130 (bb).

²² Cf. Van den Boorn, Date, 371 n. 14.

1107,14) emends *hr*, resulting in: *m rdi(w) st3.f [hr] p3 sr* ²³. In view of the available space, we accept Sethe's suggestion as the most plausible one ²⁴.

With these two prohibitions, there is made a phraseological connection with the two prohibitions of section 4: in both sections, the vetitive *m rdi(w)* is used; in both sections, a dualistic pair of key terms is used to cover the subject of the statement (compare p. 78 fig. 6 and p. 89 fig. 7). In section 4, the two key terms pertain to the essential aspects of the dispensation of justice. In section 5, they pertain to the procedure of introduction.

There is ample evidence to attest the use of *st3* as a terminus technicus for the introduction itself ²⁵. For *hnn*, the evidence is lacking ²⁶. The author has, apparently on purpose, looked for a verb that could be used – in a modified or studied way – to create the dualistic pair of prohibitions that he thought necessary to cover the essence of the matter completely ²⁷. One could also say that he has looked for a term that denoted precisely the notion he wanted to express.

Any supplicant to the vizier is forcefully bent down and ushered in (above obs. 3.3) ²⁸. Here it is stated that any messenger of the vizier with a message for an(y) official is *not* to be treated that way: he is not to be forced to bow but has to stand in front of the official; he does not have to be ushered in, but apparently has free, unhindered access. Evidently, he has a special status. Any official, to whom he is sent – apparently, also the highest ones – has to respect that status. As will appear below, R11 contains two participial statements, that formulate the dogmatic background of this special status.

²³ We take *p3 sr* of A10/W5, as belonging to the second prohibition. With emendation of *hr*, there is the theoretical possibility to reconstruct: *m rdi(w) st3.f . [hr] p3 sr dd.f....* However, a *hr.f sgm.f* would be too awkward a continuation after the two prohibitions. To continue with *dd.f* seems a much better alternative.

²⁴ Other possibilities after *st3*, e.g., *n*, *m-b3h*, *hft-hr*.

²⁵ See above note 17.

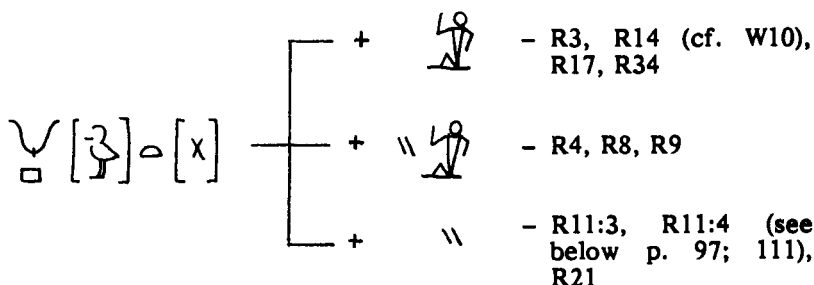
²⁶ The common phrase *m ksw*, "in bowing" comes close to conveying the result of the notion of *hnn* in practise, cf. Wb V, 140; FCD, 287. For OK scenes coming closing to portraying *st3 / hnn*, cf. Yoyotte, RdE 9 (1952), 142-4.

²⁷ The same goes for section 4: *hwi* is a well-known term, whereas *wd'-ryt* is altogether rare (10 occ. in MK-NK, cf. Van den Boorn, JNES 44 (1985), 2-3). This also applies to the combination of the common title *h3ty-* and the rare *hk3-hwt* in R11 (see below). Here, we may note that *st3* and *hnn* do occur side by side in oracular procedures of the late NK, cf. Caminos, *Osorkon*, 109 (1); Lurje, SAR, 112-4; Edgerton-Wilson, HRR III, 48 n. 16a; Vernus, *Karnak VI*, 229 n. (ar); literature cited in Van den Boorn, *Date*, 371 n. 14.

²⁸ We assume this to be a general procedure, not only pertaining to the introduction into the vizier's presence (cf. *st3*, as a widely used term).

4. *dd.f* - Initial *sgm.f* (durative), as in R4 (*smi² n.f*) and R5 (*'k.f*).
 5. *iw.f 'h'(w) m-b3h p3 sr* - Pseudoverbal construction, introduced by *iw*, in a circumstantial clause, cf. GEG § 323. For *m-b3h*, see above p. 32.
 6. *hr dd t3(y).f wpwt* - Preposition *hr*, followed by an infinitive, expressing a "concomitant circumstance", cf. GEG, § 304,1. For *t3(y).f*, see above p. 23 note 75. Note the ellipse of *y* in *t3(y).f*, as sometimes found in hieroglyphic texts of the early NK (cf. GEG, § 113,1 n. 11; James, *Hekanahkte*, 108 (e)). The use of the possessive adjective is related to the extensive use of the set *p3/t3/n3* in our text, cf. p. 23.
 7. *hn' prt r 'h'w.f* - For the conjunctive construction *hn'* + inf., see above p. 66. The noun *'h'w* (Wb I, 220,7-9) is clearly used in the meaning "(right) place", i.e. the place from where he came, the place where he is stationed, in short his "post" (cf. Van den Boorn, *Date*, 371 n. 16-7). As messenger of the vizier, his post will have been the *h3 n t3ty*.
 8. *wpwt.f* - Helck and Valloggia render "Läufer, messenger", as if there was written *wpwty.f*²⁹. As will be shown below, their translation misses the crucial point of the present statement.
- 1) An investigation into the various writings of *wpwt* and *wpwty* in the Rekhmire-version of the text gives the following result. (N.B. the occ. of both nouns in R11 have been numbered 1 to 4, from the top of the column downwards)

wpwty, "messenger"



²⁹ *Verwaltung*, 33; Valloggia, *Messengers*, 95 (4). All scholars cited in the section-heading have this translation.

𐤓 and 𐤔 appear to be facultative ³⁰ 𐤓, 𐤔, or 𐤕 are always present.

wpwt, "message"

𐤓 𐤔
𐤓 𐤔

- R10, R11:1, R12
R11:2 is under
discussion.

The noun shows a consistent writing throughout the text ³¹.

It is evident, that the noun under discussion comes under the second heading.

- 2) Valloggia has extensively dealt with the chronological variations in the writings of *wpwt*. For the NK, he lists a number of writings which - at first sight - look like our R11:2 ³². Three of them may be disregarded, because they occur in conjunction with the phrase (n) *nsw* ³³. The resulting group *wpwt* (n) *nsw* is a fixed title, leaving no room for misinterpretation ³⁴. There remain three nos.: Valloggia's no. 46 = Duties W4 (R9), a fragmentary writing in the User-version, that must be considered unreliable ³⁵; his no. 68 = Duties A18 (R21), which is even more fragmentary (see Pl. 6). His no. 51 is our present case R11:2, which he renders "messenger".

In the mass of the material assembled by Valloggia, this would be the only instance where we would have to interpret *wpwt*, in spite of the writing *wpwt*.

-
- 30 According to Valloggia, *Messagers*, 205; 207 (table), 𐤔 appears in the NK. It is omitted here in 6 of the 10 occ.: R3, R4, R14, R17, R21, R34.
 - 31 In R31 a form *wpwt* occurs without 𐤔. There, we are dealing, however, with a different noun, cf. p. 286 below (erroneously incorporated in Van den Boorn, *Date*, 372, n. 22). According to Valloggia, *Messagers* 14; 19, 𐤔 in *wpwt*, "message" is a NK feature.
 - 32 Valloggia, *Messagers*, table on p. 207: nos. 26, 46, 51, 68, 75, 76. For a concordance of the nos. with his "répertoire des sources", see *ibid.*, p. 208-9. Writings with 𐤓, 𐤔, 𐤕, have been excluded, because they clearly refer to *wpwt* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 204-6). There is no chance of misinterpretation.
 - 33 The nos. 26, 75, 76. For the *wpwt* n *pr-nsw*, cf. below p. 203.
 - 34 Cf. Valloggia, *Messagers*, § 303, p. 230ff. The group *wpwt* n *nsw*, only found in the Sinai and Hammamat inscriptions, is determined with the bookroll-sign, cf. *ibid.*, p. 21-2.
 - 35 On Pl. 4, Davies has added an asterisk to the following 𐤓, indicating that he was unable to identify the sign. *Wpwt*(y), as given in W4, may quite well have been followed by signs that have not been preserved.

- 3) My reading *wpwt* for R11:2 could be countered by referring to R11:4 (not incorporated by Valloggia). On Pl. 4, Davies represents the latter in the same way as the former. When R11:4 is rendered *wpwty*, then this could also apply to R11:2. The facsimile Pl. 1 shows, that R11:4 is extremely fragmentary. It is to be doubted whether Davies' drawing of χ on Pl. 4 is correct. The traces on Pl. 1 could equally match χ 36. Therefore, the case of R11:4 appears to be equivocal. As will be shown below (p. 111), there are reasons for preferring a writing *wpwty* in R11:4. We may conclude that Davies' drawing on Pl. 4 is highly doubtful.

It is obvious, therefore, that we have to read R11:2 as *wpwt*. We have taken the liberty of treating the correct reading in some detail, because it will appear to be crucial for a correct understanding of the two participial statements. For the analysis, see below p. 110ff.

9. *itt* ... *n* - A clear example of geminating *itt*; durative participle, expressing a statement of custom and prescription, in the present time 37. The verb *itt* can convey a wide variety of specific notions 38. Its weakened sense "to take (a person, a thing) to (a place, a person)" is comparatively rare 39. Our text uses the verb four times in this particular meaning: the present instance (R11) 40, and in R15, R16 and R17, where documents are "conveyed, transported" by officials to certain places (see section 7).

Interestingly enough, *itt* is construed with the preposition *n* ('*ryt*'), whereas one would expect *r* 41. A parallel is found in R25, *pr(w)* ... *n šm'w t3-mhw*, "(officials), who have gone out ... to Upper and Lower Egypt" (cf. p. 253). Kuentz, Vandersleyen, and especially Roccati 42 have dealt with the somewhat neglected phenomenon of

36 Thus, Sethe: Urk IV, 1108,5. For an example of χ drawn not immediately beneath the Δ , see R8. This could also apply to R11:4. Moreover, note that χ is omitted in the majority of the occ., see above note 30.

37 Cf. GEG, § 373 A, 2b. The same applies to *did* in the next clause.

38 E.g., Wb I, 149-150; FCD, 34; DLE I, 61; Lorton, JT, 78-82; 91-2.

39 Wb I, 149, 14-5. The meaning is already attested in the OK, e.g., Urk I, 36, 14-5: *ittwt(y).fy n kt wnt*, "(every priest thereof) who shall be conducted to another service" (cf. Westendorf, *Passiv*, 137-8 (with GEG, § 363, n. 5a)). See also Fischer, *Varia*, 46 n. 26; 123; Nord, in: *St. Dunham*, 141 n. 41; Lacau-Chevrier, CH, 135 n. (o). Note, in the quoted OK example, the preposition *n*, instead of *r*.

40 Against Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 26 n. 20.

41 The same phrase *n 'ryt* occurs, when we combine A25: *nb innt* (?) *n*, with R30/A25: '*ryt* (cf. p. 284ff.). See also p. 253.

42 Kuentz, in: *St. Griffith*, 108 (40); Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 76; 77 n. 1; Roccati, *Annali Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 35 (1975), 245-7 (with a Semitic approach to the phenomenon). See also the ex. given in note 39.

the interchangeability of *r* and *n* after certain verbs. As far as I can see, no underlying rule has been postulated to date.

10. *h3tyw-'* *hk3w-hwwt* - The joint appearance of these two titles in our text asks for a closer study. The first is quite common in the NK, while the second is rather rare in this period ⁴³. As we will see below, their joint appearance is restricted to the NK and the TIP, although both date back to the OK.

H3ty-' is the usual title of a NK "mayor", the chief official of a town ⁴⁴. For an understanding of the title *hk3-hwt* in the early 18th dyn., it seems appropriate to study its history in some detail.

- OK - The main element in the title is the term *hwt*. In the OK, *hwt* denotes first of all the royal funerary foundation or estate/domain, possibly surrounded by a girdle wall originally ⁴⁵. Its main function was the supply of the mortuary complex of a deceased king. There is a possibility, that the term could also be used to indicate a private estate ⁴⁶. Derived from its basic sense "surrounded area" ⁴⁷ (according to its determinative), and appearing at a very early stage, is its meaning "temple" ⁴⁸.
- MK - Although less well attested, the two major ways in which *hwt* is used in the OK continue. As in the OK, royal domains (*hwt*) can be named after kings ⁴⁹. There is a certain tendency for *hwt* to become associated with settlements, which grew out of these ⁵⁰

⁴³ Note its archaizing plural in "Dreifachsetzung", common to most NK occ., as cited below; cf. Van den Boorn, *Date*, 378 n. 57.

⁴⁴ *Verwaltung*, 220ff; AEO I, 31*.

⁴⁵ Cf. Atzler, *CdE* 47 (1972), 17-44; Jacquet-Gordon, *NDF*, 3-10; Bietak, in: *ESS*, 98-9; Spencer, *Temple*, 21-3; LÄ I, 1117-8; Posener-Krieger, *Arch.*, 312-3; 630. Note Fischer, *Dendera*, 11 n. 53, interpreting *hwt* in the wider sense of "district". For *hwt*, as divisions of the OK *pr-šn'*, "department of stores" (logistic institution supplying the central government), cf. *ibid.*, p. 11 n. 53; 21; 73; 122.

⁴⁶ Meeks, *RdE* 26 (1974), 54 n. 8; Atzler, *CdE* 47 (1972), 31; cf. Baer, *RTOK*, 170 (3/7).

⁴⁷ As a type of settlement distinct from *nwt*, cf. the studies of Jacquet-Gordon, Atzler and Bietak (ref. note 45); LÄ II, 919.

⁴⁸ Spencer, *Temple*, 23-4; Posener-Krieger, *Arch.*, 333. Alongside appeared the later on usual term *hwt-ntr*.

⁴⁹ In the MK quite rare: Fischer, *RdE* 13 (1961), 107-8; LÄ I, 1120 n. 13; AEO II, 34*; Spencer, *Temple*, 24 (private estates); cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 246-51.

⁵⁰ Helck, *Gaue*, 50-1; LÄ I, 1118-9; Ward, *Index*, 204. Note the phrase *kd hwwt m t3-mhw*, Merikare P 107 (Volten, *Pol. Schriften*, 57), which is rendered by Blumenthal: "Baue Siedlungen in Unterägypten" (*ZÄS* 107 (1980), 17 with note 131; cf. *ibid.*, note 133 for different opinions; add: Kees. *MDAIK* 18 (1962), 2-3; 8-11). Her translation is

- Its meaning "temple" is sparsely attested ⁵¹.
- NK - The term *ḥwt* is now used primarily to denote the/a (mortuary) temple, "mansion" ⁵². However, a number of sources indicates that *ḥwt* can still be used to refer to landed (temple-)domains. Hayes found this meaning in the Malkata inscriptions of Amenhotep III ⁵³. Estates, represented in the OK fashion as female personifications and called "the estate (*ḥwt*) of Ma'atkare Gem-akhet-Amun which is in the Northland/Southland", are found under Hatshepsut ⁵⁴. In the Sphinx Stela of Tuthmosis IV (l. 7), *ḥwt* has been rendered by Zivie "urban district, urban quarter" ⁵⁵.
- TIP - Apart from its continued use to denote the mortuary "temple", *ḥwt* may apparently still be interpreted as "domain" in some sources ⁵⁶.

The term *ḥwt* appears to be used in two basic ways: meaning "estate, domain etc." and "temple". The former can become associated in some contexts with human settlements distinct from *nīwt*. While in

strengthened by a similar phrase: *ḳd šm'w t3-mḥw ḥwwt Snfrw*, "The construction of estates/domaines of Snefrou (in) Upper and Lower Egypt", on the Palermo Stone (cf. Jacquet-Gordon, NDF, 5 n. 11), where *ḥwt* can only refer to landed estates. The context of Merikare P 107 seems to point to landed estates with human habitation, (rural?) types of settlement as distinct from *nīwt* (mentioned in Merikare P 108, cf. Blumenthal, o.c., n. 133). The instruction *ḳd ḥwwt* is given to counterbalance the growing danger of foreigners (P 106-7), clearly suggesting *ḥwt* to be an area, defensible because of its occupancy by people (with Burkard, (ref. Blumenthal o.c., n. 133), we take *ḥwt* in Merikare P 108 to be an error; cf. Merikare C 3,5).

51 Spencer, *Temple*, 24-5; cf. Vernus, GM 13 (1974), 32-3; 36 (8); Ward, *Index*, 204.

- 52 Černý, JEA 26 (1940), 127-30; Clère, in: *Äg. & Kush*, 107ff; Spencer, *Temple*, 25-7; AEO II, 46 *; 113; *Wilbour Pap. II*, 11; 34; 66; 73; 135. For variations, cf. Brovarski, JEA 61 (1976), 73.

- 53 Hayes, JNES 10 (1951), 98-9.

- 54 Brovarski, JEA 62 (1976), 73. Similar estates called *ḥwt*, with following royal name, can be found in e.g. P. Harris I (Erichsen, *P. Harris I*, 58; cf. Kruchten, DH, 55). For the Amarna age, see Jélinkova, ASAE 50 (1950), 362.

- 55 L. 7: *īw n.f ḥwt Ḥwt-k3-Pth nīwt nb nty ḥr-gs.f*, "the district(s) of *Ḥwt-k3-Pth* (Memphis) and every town that lies in its neighbourhood (of the Sphinx) come to him" (Zivie, *Giza*, 128). See our comments in note 78 below. Note here the distinction *ḥwt-nīwt* (dating back to the OK (cf. lit. cited in note 45); also found in the MK (cf. note 50). Note in this respect the phrase *dmi n Ḥwt-k3-Pth*, "city-quarter of *Ḥwt-k3-Pth*", cf. Fairman-Grdseloff, JEA 33 (1947), 26 (3).

- 56 Cf. Caminos, JEA 38 (1952), 57 (50); Kees, ZÄS 72 (1936), 48 with n. 4 (compare Caminos, *Osorkon*, 132-3). Cf. below n. 82 on the title *ḥrp ḥwwt (nt)*, "controller of the domains (of the Red Crown)".

the OK the former meaning is predominant, a shift in emphasis occurs in favour of the latter, especially in the NK.

A study of the title *hk3-hwt* indicates that it is exclusively related to the meaning "estate, domain" of *hwt*.

- OK - The title denotes the "leader of a royal funerary domain" (followed by a king's name or topographical indication), a royal official⁵⁷. Towards the end of the period and in the FIP, the title is found increasingly in title-sequences of nomarchs⁵⁸ and without appended name(s)⁵⁹. This indicates a loosening of the ties between title and royal funerary system⁶⁰.
- MK - First, we note that the title followed by a royal name has become extremely rare⁶¹. It is frequently found alone⁶², and is apparently now used to denote an official of the government not tied to a network of royal funerary domains⁶³. We noted above that the term *hwt* increasingly becomes associated with a type of human settlement in the MK. We now face the problem of how to interpret the title when it occurs alone in MK texts: in terms of "domain" etc., or in terms of "human settlement" other than *niwt* (and if the latter is true, what type of settlement)? There are indications to both effects. The Eloquent Peasant says to the steward Rensi: *mk tw m(i) niwt nn hk3-hwt.s*, "You are like a town without a (her) *hk3-hwt*"⁶⁴. However, in the same text there occurs a *hk3-hwt* of the Wadi Natrun⁶⁵, the topographical name of a region, not of a town (and a region without known towns). Moreover, the Peasant is instructed by Rensi to provide grain. In the Hekanakhte

57 Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 113; 126 n. 39; Jacquet-Gordon, NDF, 6; 9; Martin-Pardey, UPAR, 137-9; Junker, *Giza III*, 90-8; Fischer, in: AEMMJ, 69-71; 158 n.2 and 5. Curiously enough, the title also occurs as a quite low-ranking official in the private sphere, cf. Baer, RTOK, 170; Fischer, *Dendera*, 73. Various translations are cited by El-Sayed, BIFAO 79 (1979), 196.

58 Fischer, *Dendera*, 72-3.

59 Martin-Pardey, UPAR, 137.

60 Fischer, *Dendera*, 98 with n. 448; cf. Lorton, JT, 23-4.

61 Fischer, *Dendera*, 170 notes two examples.

62 Ward, *Index*, 130 (1114).

63 E.g., Cairo CCG 20543,a,10: *hk3w-hwwt srw nw t3 r-qr.f*, as a circumscription of all officials of Egypt (cf. Fischer, JNES 19 (1960), 266 n. 8), 11th dyn.

64 Peasant B1, 189-9 = RB, 95-6 (cf. Lichtheim, AEL I, 177; Fischer, *Dendera*, 73 n. 298); Clère, RdE 7 (1950), 31.

65 Peasant B1, 86-7 = RB, 94 (Cf. Lichtheim, AEL II, 173). For another ex., see Helck, *Verwaltung*, 238 n. 2.

Papers, a *ḥk3-ḥwt* supplies grain as a private loan ⁶⁶. In MK title-sequences, the title is never found together with "urban" titles, like *ḥ3ty-*' and *ḥm-nṯr* ⁶⁷. On present evidence, this ambiguity seems hard to solve. Helck rendered the MK title "Ortsvorsteher" (= leader of a small settlement) ⁶⁸.

NK-TIP-Contrary to its use in the MK, the title is now exclusively mentioned in conjunction with the typical urban title *ḥ3ty-*', "mayor". According to Helck, the title now falls into oblivion ⁶⁹. It seems appropriate, therefore, to present a list of 16 occurrences in 5 NK-TIP texts.

1. *Semna Inscription
of Tuthmosis III*

Urk IV,196,7; BAR II, 71

In year 2 Tuthmosis III orders a renewal of Sesostri's III list of offerings to the Semna temple. He finishes the inscription with the officials for whom the regulations are intended:

- *wḏ.n st ḥm.f ḥr ḥ3tyw-'* *ḥk3w-ḥwwt nw tp-rsy* (sic) *3bw m ḥtr n tnw rnpt*

"His Majesty ordered it upon the mayors and *ḥk3w-ḥwwt* of the Head of the South ^{a)} (and) Elephantine as an imposition ^{b)} for each year".

a) The writing of *tp-rsy* with Signlist M 25 is highly doubtful, cf. Gardiner, JEA 43 (1957), 8. For its geographical location in Upper Egypt, see below p. 212ff.

b) For the term *ḥtr*, see below p. 283.

⁶⁶ James, *Hekanakhte*, 53 (V,40); Pl. 11, 40. Note in this respect also the MK title *ḥk3-ḥ(w)tyw*, "leader of domain-personnel" (Fischer, JNES 19 (1960), 266 (s)).

⁶⁷ Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 21 with note 95. We are again reminded of the distinction (OK-MK) *ḥwt* - *nṯwt* (cf. note 55; Junker, *Giza III*, 77-8; Fischer, *Dendera*, 11 n. 53): an official related to the first is - apparently *qualitate qua* - not involved in the latter.

⁶⁸ *Verwaltung*, 238-9; cf. *ibid.*, 212-8. Helck's argument has been left out so far in the present discussion, because he proceeds from Rekhmire's "Tribute"-List, which he dates to the 13th dyn. Above, p. 19 notes 41-2, we have adduced arguments for interpreting the text in the context of the 18th dyn., as do Säve-Söderbergh, Å&N, 179.; CAH II, Pt. 1, 335. See also below, p. 106ff.

⁶⁹ *Verwaltung*, 238.

2. *Tomb of Great Herald Intef* (TT 155) temp. Tuthmosis III
- 2.1. Stela Louvre C 26, 20 Urk IV, 973,3
BAR II, 299; Säve-Söderbergh, PTT I, 13;
Helck, *Verwaltung*, 239 n. 1; Hermann, *Stelen*, 15 n. 17

In his autobiographical inscription Antef says:

- *ip b3kw nw hrpw h3tyw-' hk3w-hwwt nw šm'w t3-mh̄w*

"(he is one) who reckons the levies ^{a)} of the controllers, the mayors and the *hk3w-hwwt* of Upper and Lower Egypt".

a) For *b3kw*, "levies, dues, taxes", cf. Janssen, SAK 3 (1975), 173-4.

- 2.2. Legend to a scene of Intef, seated and receiving goods (now partially erased). Säve-Söderbergh, PTT I, Pl. XI, p. 14

- *m33[yw[-?]] hk3w-hwwt knbtyw nw w wh̄mw nw sp3wt[]sš̄i[]3h̄wt.sn ntt m[]*.

"Inspection (of the levies (?) of the mayors ^{a)}), the *hk3w-hwwt*, the councillors of the rural district ^{b)}, the heralds of the town-districts ^{c)}, (their scribes ^{d)}), their scribe(s) of fields ^{e)}, who are ^{f)} in" (there follows an illegible geographical circumscription ^{g)}).

- a) Restoration *h3tyw-*, on account of the parallel texts in stela Louvre C 26 (2.1 above) and Rekhmire's "Tribute"-List (3.1-2 below). The object of *m33* is less certain, cf. Säve-Söderbergh, o.c., 14 n.3. Compare 3.1 below.
- b) For *knbtyw nw w*, see below p. 174ff.
- c) For *sp3t*, see below p. 260ff. The title has been interpreted as denoting the MK/NK assistant of the *h3ty-* in the "nome"-administration, cf. Helck, *Gaue*, 57; id., LÄ I, 421; id., *Verwaltung*, 240-1; von Beckerath, UGZZ, 94.
- d) Restoration *sš̄w.sn*, on account of the text in the "Tribute"-List (3.1-2 below).
- e) According to Helck (LÄ I, 421; id., *Verwaltung*, 214), assistants of the "councillors of the rural district".
- f) *Ntt m*, error for *nty m*, see 3.1-2 below.
- g) Possibly, "the Thinite nome" or "Upper Egypt", cf. Säve-Söderbergh, o.c., 14 n. 4.

3. "Tribute"-List in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100)

- 3.1 Legend to a scene in which Rekhmire receives the deliveries of the 40 settlements south of Thebes by their respective officials. Davies, Pl. XXIX,1; p. 33, Urk IV, 1119,16 - 1120,4; cf. p. 101 note 68 above.

- *m33 ḫpw ḫpw n ḥ3 n t3ty n nḫwt rst, ḫpw r ḥ3tyw-' ḥk3w-ḥwwt ḥnbtyw nw w ḫmw nw sp3t sšw.sn sšw 3ḥwt.sn nty m tp-rsy...*

"Inspection of the inventories (of deliveries); the inventories of (for) the bureau of the vizier of the Southern City; the inventories relating to the mayors, the *ḥk3w-ḥwwt*, the councillors of the rural district, the heralds of the town-districts, their scribes, their scribes of fields, who are in the Head of the South..." a)

a) For *ḫpw*, "inventory", and the present translation, see Kessler, SAK 10 (1983), 219.

- 3.2 Parallel legend for the deliveries of the 40 settlements north of Thebes, up to Cusae. Davies, Pl. XL,1; p. 33; Urk IV, 1128,16 - 1129,3; cf. p. 101 note 68 above.

- For the text, see 3.1 above.

- 3.3 Official of the southern region Davies, Pl. XXX 1st reg. (here erased); visible in: Newberry, *Rekhmara*, Pl. V (top); Urk IV, 1121,15; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 213 (top row).

- *ḥk3w-ḥwt n 'Iwnyt*, "*ḥk3-ḥwt* of Esna" a).

a) *'Iwnyt* = Esna, cf. AEO II, 10* ff; Helck, *Gaue*, 75-6; Otto, *Topographie*, 93; 95; 99; Gauthier, DG I, 54; Montet, *Géogr. II*, 47-8; Condon, RdE 35 (1984), 72 (4.4).

- 3.4 Official of the southern region Davies, Pl. XXX 2nd reg.; Urk IV, 1123,10; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 213 (2nd row).

- *ḥk3-ḥwt n Pr-mrw*, "*ḥk3-ḥwt* of Komir" a)

a) *Pr-mrw* = Komir, cf. AEO II, 9*; Helck, *Mat. II*, 157; Meeks, *Edfou*, 81 (92); Gauthier, DG II, 87; Montet, *Géogr. II*, 45-6; James, *Hekanakhte*, Pl. 23,V; P.

Reisner II, 45. For its location, see Meeks, *Edfou*, Pl. II. For the archaeological evidence, cf. Es-Saghir and Valbelle, BIFAO 83 (1983), 149ff.

4. Duties of the Vizier

4.1 R11, section 5; Pl. 1

- *in wpwt.f itt h3tyw-' hk3w-hwwt n 'ryt*

"It is his message that takes the mayors and the *hk3w-hwwt* to the 'ryt'".

4.2 R21, section 12; Pl. 1

- *ntf sbb wpwty nb n pr-nsu h3b n h3tyw-' hk3w-hwwt*

"It is he, who dispatches ^{a)} every messenger of the palace ^{b)}, who is sent ^{c)} to the mayors and the *hk3w-hwwt*"

a) For *sbi*, "to dispatch", see below p. 202ff.

b) *Wpwty n pr-nsu* recurs in R34; see above p. 96 and p. 203 below.

c) Passive partic. perf.

4.3 R25, section 16; Pl. 2.

- *ntf sbb h3tyw-' hk3w-hwwt r sk3 r smw*

"It is he, who dispatches the mayors and the *hk3w-hwwt* to take care of the cultivation and the harvest (?)^{a)}".

a) For the interpretation, see below p. 242ff.

4.4 R25, section 17; Pl. 2.

- *ntf irr sdm h3tyw-' hk3w-hwwt prr hr rn.f n sm'w t3-mhw*

"It is he, who institutes a hearing of the mayors and the *hk3w-hwwt*, who have gone out ^{a)} to ^{b)} Upper and Lower Egypt in his name ^{c)}".

a) Partic. perf. act.

b) Preposition *n* for *r*, see above p. 97.

c) *Hr rn.f*, cf. GEG, § 165,9; LGEC, § 492,10; e.g., Urk IV, 766,2 (Tuthm. III).

4.5 R32; Pl. 3.

The grouping of sentences in this fragmentary column is difficult (see below p. 286). The division which seems to make sense isolates the phrase: *iw h3ty(w)' hk3w-hwwt tw3w nb smi.(s)n n.f inw.sn*, "the mayors, the *hk3w-hwwt* and every common citizen (?) report to him their deliveries".

5. Stela of Pi(anchi)

- 5.1 Line 3 Grimal, *Pi*, § 3 (=p. 5*,8); p. 13; 16 n. 24; Yoyotte, *Principautés*, 128 n. 4; Kessler, *SAK* 9 (1981), 234 n. 40

In a report to Pi on Tefnakht's allies, it is said that:

– *t3wy dmd m-ḥt.f, ḥ3tyw-' ḥk3w-ḥwwt m tsmw m iry-rdwy.f(y)*

"The Two Lands are united behind him (Tefnakht), the mayors and the *ḥk3w-ḥwwt* (are) like dogs, like people attached to his feet ^{a)}".

a) For this expression, cf. Grimal, o.c., 16 n. 25.

- 5.2 Line 5 Grimal, *Pi*, § 3 (= p. 6*,8); p. 15.

In the final line of the same report it is said of Tefnakht, that in besieging Pi's allies:

– *dī.f s nb ḥms hr psšt.f m ḥ3tyw-' ḥk3w-ḥwwt*

"He makes sure that every man is on his (right) place among ^{a)} the mayors and the *ḥk3w-ḥwwt*".

a) For comments, cf. Grimal, o.c., 17 n. 42.

- 5.3/4 Line 19–20 Grimal, *Pi*, § 8 (= p. 13*, 13,14); p. 37.

Among his enemies in the battle of Heliopolis, Pi incorporates, after a list of principal leaders with their personal names:

– *ḥ3ty(w)-' nb ḥk3w-ḥwwt hr 'Imntt hr 'I3bt hr ww ḥryw-īb dmd hr mw m iry-rdwy n wr '3 n 'Imntt ḥk3-ḥwt t3-mḥw...Tf-nḥt.*

"All the mayors, the *ḥk3w-ḥwwt* of the West, of the East (and) of the central areas ^{a)} (of the Delta), united in one alliance ^{b)} as people attached to the feet ^{c)} of the great chief of the West, the *ḥk3-ḥwt* of the Northern area....Tefnakht".

a) Cf. Grimal., o.c., 38 n. 88.

b) Ibid., 21 n. 52.

c) Ibid., 16 n. 25.

This list allows for a number of observations.

- 1) In striking contrast to the MK, in the 18th dyn. and in the TIP *hk3-hwt* is regularly mentioned together with *h3ty-* (1.2.1-2, 3.1-2, 4.1-4, 5.3) ⁷⁰. The reasons for this change are obscure. In the NK, therefore, the title is clearly drawn into an "urban" sphere. It is tempting to suggest that the two titles *h3ty-* and *hk3-hwt* now cover the OK/MK set *niwt - hwt* ⁷¹.
- 2) The two titles are regularly listed together as collective representatives of specific, larger geographical units (1, (2.2?), 3.1-2, 5.3), or of unspecified parts of the country (2.1, (2.2?), 5.1). This would suggest these functionaries to be, or to be considered, the "urban" authorities in a given area.
- 3) The "urban" environment of *hk3-hwt* in the NK can be connected to comparable aspects of *hwt* and *hk3-hwt* in the MK (see above).
- 4) Text 3.3, dating back to the reign of Hatshepsut ⁷², lists a *hk3-hwt* as representative of Esna. Some 15 years earlier, we know from the Paheri texts at Elkab (reign of Tuthmosis I ⁷³), that Paheri - as *h3ty-* of Elkab - was also *h3ty-* of Esna ⁷⁴. Assuming that this situation persisted some 15 years later, Esna is represented in text 3 on the one hand by the *h3ty-* of Elkab ⁷⁵, on the other hand by the *hk3-hwt* of Esna (3.3). This suggests a "division" between Esna itself (governed by the mayor of Elkab) and another "unit" called Esna (governed by a *hk3-hwt*). Some 12 km south of Esna, also on the westbank of the 3rd U.E. nome, lies Komir ⁷⁶. It is also represented in the "Tribute"-List (3) by a *hk3-hwt* (3.4). Based on these data, Helck suggested a threefold division of the westbank north of Elkab: Esna itself, another unit called Esna, and Komir ⁷⁷. Following obs. 1 above, it would be

⁷⁰ Therefore, this phenomenon can be used as an argument for dating the composition of The Duties in the NK, cf. Van den Boorn, Date, 372. See chapter 4.3 below.

⁷¹ See above notes 45, 47, 50, 55, 67.

⁷² The "Tribute"-List is also found in the tomb of Rekhmire's predecessor User, see above p. 101 note 68. User is dated to the reign of Hatshepsut, cf. *Verwaltung*, 291.

⁷³ Chronology according to von Beckerath, *Abriss*, 35-6.

⁷⁴ Urk, IV, 115, 11-2; 125, 10; cf. *Verwaltung*, 218-20; id., *Gaue*, 75 Megally, *Rech.*, 44. In the Ramesside period Esna had its own mayors, cf. Helck, *Gaue*, 76.

⁷⁵ According to Helck's reconstruction of the text, attested in the lowest register of the "southern part"; cf. *Verwaltung*, 213; 215 (V4); id., *Mat. VI*, 13.

⁷⁶ For the geographical situation, see Meeks, *Edfou*, Pl. II. Note, that another name for *Pr-mrw* (= Komir) is *Hwt-n-mrw*, cf. *P. Reisner II*, 45 (13).

⁷⁷ Implicitly, Helck, *Gaue*, 77-8. The administrative split-up of the region - as shown by the "Tribute"-List - may be a reflection of the fact that the 3rd U.E. nome, on an average, virtually had the highest

reasonable to label the former unit *nīwt*, and the latter two *ḥwwt* 78.

- 5) Apart from its "urban" aspect, we encounter the title - in conjunction with *ḥ3ty-* ! - frequently in the context of supply and deliveries of goods (1, 2.1-2, 3.1-4, 4.5), and once in an agricultural setting (4.3). This suggests that they have an economic resource-base of their own (already apparent in the MK, see above). Mayors are known to have been engaged in agricultural work around their city (see below p. 242ff.). The *ḥk3-ḥwt* apparently operates in the same sphere.
- 6) Like the *ḥ3ty-*, the *ḥk3-ḥwt* of the early 18th dyn. is an official 79 of the central government, who is responsible to the vizier (4.1, 4.4). He is sent out by the vizier (4.3-4) to work on a local level of administration (4.2-3), remaining in close contact with the vizier and the *pr-nsu* (4.1, 4.2, 4.4). Like the mayor, he can be assigned to agricultural tasks (4.3). There is no discernible difference in field and scope of operations for the two officials.
- 7) In the same way as the set of titles is used archaizingly in the early NK, the set is used archaizingly by the Kushite Pi(anchi) as a general designation of local officials of Delta settlements who are subordinate to Tefnakht.

Atzler and Bietak have pointed out that our terms for "city" "town", "village", "settlement" have no direct Egyptian equivalents 80. Words like *nīwt*, *ḥwt*, *dmi* etc. cannot be rendered by modern terms without further comments. The criteria governing the Egyptian distinction between them are difficult to grasp and must have been fundamentally different from ours.

Given the assembled information, our contention is that the OK set *nīwt* - *ḥwt*, as two different types of human settlement, is archaizingly covered in the early NK and the TIP by the two titles

population and settlement density of Upper Egypt (cf. Butzer, EHCE, 57-80, esp. tables 2-3; p. 102 fig. 14), to a large part concentrated on the westbank (ibid., p. 78 fig. 11; cf. Meeks, *Edfou*, Pl. II), together with the fact that the regions around Esna were important grain-producing (= economic) areas in the early NK (cf. Urk IV, 115, 11-3; Megally, *Rech.*, 44).

78 Along these lines Zivie's rendering of Sphinx Stela, l. 7 (ref. note 55 above) can now be improved: "The settlement (*ḥwt*) of *Ḥwt-k3-Pth* and every town (*nīwt*) which lies in its neighbourhood (the Sphinx) come to him (the Sphinx)". In an alliterative way Memphis is called a *ḥwt* in contrast to the following *nīwt* without differences in connotation between the two terms. *Ḥwt* and *nīwt* cover here equal units. Interpreted in the sphere of the set *nīwt* - *ḥwt*, the passage from the Eloquent Peasant (B1, 189-9, quoted above p. 100 with note 64) may be considered another word-game (compare also the title *ḥk3-nīwt*, Zába, RILN, 161-2 (150,1)).

79 Cf. below p. 108ff.; already noted for the MK, see above.

80 Ref. note 45 above; see also Kessler, *Topographie*, 3-4.

ḥ3ty-' and *ḥk3-ḥwt*. Seen in this perspective, *ḥwt* would represent a human settlement, distinct from *niwt* through the way it had arisen in the OK, in the way it had functioned in the past (possibly as a royal foundation, a centre of royal administration) ⁸¹. Drawing on these ancient connotations, the term *ḥwt* is picked up in the early NK and the TIP to be used in the old title *ḥk3-ḥwt*, which thus acquires a (new?) meaning, typical of the period ⁸².

In conjunction with *ḥ3ty-'* – relating to *niwt* –, it denotes the leader of a settlement other than *niwt*. Together, the two titles denote "the leaders of urban communities" (in the general way in which they occur in the sources, probably the leaders of *all* urban communities). I have reserved the translation "mayor" for *ḥ3ty-'*. In view of the above, we render *ḥk3-ḥwt* "settlement-leader" ⁸³.

We may now return to the context of R11. What is the administrative framework in which the *ḥ3ty-'* and *ḥk3-ḥwt* operate?

On the basis of the "Tribute"-List, Helck has given an outline of the local administration in the late MK ⁸⁴. As indicated before ⁸⁵, we find it difficult to project the content of this 18th dyn. text back to the late MK, without definite proof that such a procedure is warranted. Therefore, we regard the text as originating in the early NK, and use Helck's outline for this period.

The mayor occupies the chief position in the local administration. He is in charge of an urban centre plus the adjoining rural territory. He is directly responsible to the vizier. He can be assisted by a scribe and/or a herald (*whmw*) ⁸⁶. The regions in between the urban centres are called "rural districts", *ww*, headed by councillors of the district, *knbttyw nw w*. They also answer directly to the vizier, and are subordinate to the mayors. They can be assisted by "scribes of the district", *sšw nw w*, and/or by "scribes of the fields", *sšw nw*

81 We may point to the numerous names of settlements and regions compounded with the element *ḥwt* in MK and NK.

82 Compare the persistent way in which *ḥwt*'s OK meaning "domain" is retained in the title *ḥrp-ḥwwt (nt)*, "controller of the domains (of the Red Crown)", in OK-MK-NK-TIP-LP, cf. Jélinkova, ASAE 50 (1950), 321-62; id., ASAE 55 (1958), 79-125; El-Sayed, RdE 28 (1976), 97.

83 Helck's translation "Ortsvorsteher" (*Verwaltung*, 218; 238-9) misses the point in that he creates an implicit hierarchy of "cities" – "villages". The set *niwt* – *ḥwt* has nothing to do with differences in size, measure of concentration, compactness, division of labour etc., see Bietak's study, in: ESS, 97-144; Kessler, *Topographie*, 12 n. 15. Helck later modified his translation to "leader" of "Unterdistrikte", *Gaue*, 57; LÄ II, 421.

84 *Verwaltung*, 212-45; *Gaue*, 56-7; *Mat. VI*, 12-4; LÄ II, 420-2; followed i.a. by von Beckerath, UGZZ, 94; Hayes, in: CAH II, Pt. 1, 357.

85 Cf. above note 68; p. 19 notes 41-2; see also my remarks in Date, 369-70. In general, see chapter 4.

86 The *ḥk3-ḥwt* is fitted in into this scheme as the leader of a small settlement, or a subdistrict of the "urban area", according to Helck.

3ḥwt. Thus, in Helck's view, there is a clear cut division between urbanized areas and the rural stretches in between. For the moment, this may suffice as a working hypothesis, but the reader is referred to chapter 1, section 9 and chapter 3.4 for modifications of Helck's reconstruction.

Generally speaking, we have to be cautious. The "Tribute"-List only deals with Upper Egypt, from Bigeh/Elephantine to Assiut ⁸⁷. Whether the outline also applied to Middle Egypt, the Delta and the Fayoum is unknown at present. Moreover, the specific and detailed information of the text is hard to verify in contemporary (NK) sources. Finally, in confronting the information supplied by the text with The Duties - as a means of corroborating its facts -, we run the risk of arguing in circles, because the texts are evidently closely related. All we can say at present is that there are at least two contemporary NK sources, that appear to be related to the "Tribute"-List and its essence (texts 1-2 above). On present evidence, function and meaning of the title *ḥ3ty-* and the term *w* do not seem to be open to dispute ⁸⁸.

In R11, we find the statement that "it is his message that takes the mayors and settlement-leaders to the '*ryt*'. Evidently, the vizier can order the urban authorities to the palace-precinct (for consultation: R25 = 4.4 above; for instruction: R25 = 4.3 above; for trial and punishment: R12-R13, see below p. 115ff.) ⁸⁹.

Concluding this long digression, we face the question as to why the complex circumscription of officials (R9-R10) is narrowed down to "mayors and settlement-leaders" in R11 ⁹⁰. The answer must be sought in a connection between section 4 and 5. Section 4 dealt with *srw* working in bureaus of the central government. The vizier appeared to be their supreme judge. Section 5 deals with the messenger of the vizier, but at the same time introduces the urban authorities, viz. officials of the government *not* working in these bureaus but on a local level. The scope of the stipulations of R9-R10 is even extended to embrace each and every *sr* in Egypt. As will appear below (p. 115ff.), when they have to be punished, it is still the vizier who will pronounce verdict. Therefore, while basically dealing with another subject, section 5 is tied to 4 in creating a twofold, and thus complete, circumscription of Egyptian officialdom: *srw* of central government institutions, *srw* of the local administration: *srw*, from the highest down to the lowest. Both groups are judged by the vizier.

87 Cf. p. 19 note 42.

88 For *w*, see below p. 174ff.

89 As already found in MK viziral letters, e.g., P. Kahun III, 1A, 7-8 (cf. Gardiner, *Rec. Trav.* 40 (1923), 79-80); P. Brooklyn 35.1446 ro, Ins. B, 10-2 (cf. Hayes, *PLMK*, Pl. V; p. 71).

90 Cf. p. 90ff. above.

11. *tp*-[. - The facsimile, Pl. 1, shows traces of *tp* at the beginning of the lacuna. It seems plausible, therefore, to restore *tp-rd* ⁹¹. One would expect a continuation *n h3tyw-' hk3w-hwwt*. Since the beginning of the next sentence has to be emended in the same lacuna, there appears to be no room for the phrase. An alternative could be *n.sn*, "to them". However, this would have to precede *tp-rd* grammatically. For this reason, we propose to emend *r.s*, "to that effect".

After the analysis of the two participial statements in R11, it is remarkable to note the distinction made in the respective statements between an "action" taken by *wpwt*, and an "action" taken by *wpwty*. In our view, the distinction is a concise explanation of the special position enjoyed by the *wpwty n t3ty*, as outlined by the two prohibitions of R10.

The *wpwty n t3ty* is only carrier of the *wpwt n t3ty*. The authority to convey urban authorities to the 'ryt is not vested in the vizier's messenger, but in his message. The messenger only gives instructions for the execution of its contents. Therefore, the person of the messenger is subordinate, or even unimportant, as compared with the message he has to deliver. For this reason, one is forbidden to apply to him the protocol of audiences (which marks the hierarchical differences between recipient and visitor), viz. *st3*, *hnn*; R10. The latter carries an "authoritative" message, far exceeding the powers and authority of its recipient. The *wpwty n t3ty* clearly has "ambassadorial" status, he enjoys diplomatic immunity through his *wpwt* ⁹². The two participial statements formulate the dogmatic background of the prohibitions of R10.

Although the results of Valloggia's study tend to confirm this special position ⁹³, he has failed to see that it receives special emphasis in R11 of our text. Attention may be drawn to a passage in the Paheri inscriptions at Elkab (Urk IV, 120,2), which is quite illuminating: *n šbl.i wpwt hr smi s(y)*, "I did not confound the message with the one who delivered it" ⁹⁴. This particular aspect – the key-concept of the present section – may be added to the results of Valloggia's survey of tasks and position of the messenger of the vizier as his prime agent ⁹⁵. It seems unnecessary to repeat these results here. For the *wpwty n pr-nsu*, see p. 203ff. below.

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- ⁹¹ For the term, see above p. 15ff. For a messenger carrying instructions (*tp-rd*), see the inscription of Tutu (Urk IV, 2017), analysed by Valloggia, *Messengers*, 107–8.
- ⁹² See already Van den Boorn, *Date*, 370–1 n. 13. On this concept, see also below section 6.
- ⁹³ Valloggia, *Messengers*, 220–7 (already attested in the OK/MK).
- ⁹⁴ For the MK, see the inscription of Imeni at Beni Hassan: *h3ty-' im3-' hsi '3t m pr-nsu h3m rnm n wpwtyw*, "The mayor, whose arm is agreeable, greatly praised in the palace, who bows the arms for (its) messengers" (cf. Valloggia, *Messengers*, 81 (18), 221).
- ⁹⁵ Ref. note 93. Occ.: R3, R4, R8, R9, R11 (2x), R14, R17.

12. . $\square$ wpwt[y].f - An attempt to restore the beginning of this sentence must be based on the form wpwt.f. In addition to the palaeographical remarks above ⁹⁶, we may point out that the verb 'n'n - undetermined in R11 - is determined by $\overline{\text{f}}$ in R27. Moreover, 'n'n is followed by the indication r-dd. Thus, it seems warranted to restore the fragmentary group to wpwt[y].f, "his messenger" ⁹⁷. After this, the sentence is continued with prep. hr + inf. ('n'n). This implies, that a main verb has preceded the group in the lacuna. It transpires from what follows, that the messenger addresses his words to the vizier, indicating that he has returned from his mission. Finally, it is equally clear that the remaining part of the section (R11-R13) deals with a case of infringement of the rules set out in the first part of the section. It seems probable, therefore, that the beginning of the sentence has the conditional form of an if-clause, introducing the case-description as usual in juridical texts and royal decrees of the period ⁹⁸: $\overline{\text{ir}} \text{ grt} \dots$ In view of this, we propose to restore something like: $\square \overline{\text{ir}} \text{ grt} \overline{\text{ii}} \square$ wpwt[y].f..., "Now, if his messenger comes...".
13. 'n'n - The verb is used here without determinative, but recurs in R27 determined with $\overline{\text{f}}$. According to the Wb, the verb - written with this determinative - is a hapax legomenon ⁹⁹. Its usual translation is "to complain" ¹⁰⁰. An attempt to verify this rendering must be based on the assumption that 'n'n is a reduplicated form of 'n(n) ¹⁰¹. The latter can acquire a wide variety of meanings: "to return, to turn back, etc." ¹⁰². Zonhoven points out an element of repetition, that seems to be present in the root 'n ¹⁰³. Posener renders "réagir efficacement, faire front" ¹⁰⁴. In view of the determinative, we have to assume that the verb conveys some verbal or emotional sense in our text. "Parallels" are afforded by the Late NK expression 'n (Δ) sm $\overline{\text{t}}$, "to return a report > to render report" ¹⁰⁵, and by the Ptahhotep teachings, containing a hapax 'n'y ($\overline{\text{f}}$), which is rendered "to complain" ¹⁰⁶. The latter affords an interesting contextual parallel, in that people "complain"

⁹⁶ See above p. 97 obs. 3.

⁹⁷ All restorations that retain the group as wpwt - various scholars cited in the section-heading - may be discarded, therefore.

⁹⁸ In general, cf. Lorton, TC, 53-8.

⁹⁹ Wb I, 191, 12; FCD, 43.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. last note and *Verwaltung*, 33 (followed by most scholars cited in the section-heading).

¹⁰¹ Likewise, CLEM, 454; Edgerton-Wilson, HRR III, pl. 85 n. 19b.

¹⁰² Wb I, 188-9; DLE I, 77-9. Usual determinative Δ .

¹⁰³ JEA 65 (1979), 94. Note the Late Egyptian adverb 'n "again", cf. Wente, LRL, 41 (y); 63 (af); DLE I, 78.

¹⁰⁴ *Enseignement*, 47 (6), MK; for the NK, Caminos, *Woe*, 69.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Wb I, 189, 7; DLE I, 78; e.g., P.BM 10100 ro, 4 (LRL, 50); P. Bibl. Nat. 199 III ro, 7 (LRL, 70); P.BM 10474 ro, I, 6 (Amenemope).

¹⁰⁶ *Žába, Ptahh.*, 27 (144); 55 (498); Lichtheim, AEL I, 65; 73 (with note 60).

on unjust treatment.

Taking these admittedly meagre scraps of information, one could postulate a (rare) derivate of the root 'n, taking the form 'n'n / 'n'y, and denoting the sense of "to return to someone verbally", "to react", or possibly "to oppose something verbally" (in the sense of German "erwidern"). In this way, the hapax legomenon 'n'n could be related to attested notions of the simplex 'n(n). For want of anything better, I have retained the translation "to complain".

14. *h(3)b.kw[y]* - The facsimile, Pl. 1, shows traces of \ behind the w-bird, not represented on Pl. 4. The writing *.kw[y]* in R11 is corroborated by the writing  in A11. The latter is attested for Old Perfective, 1st pers. sing.¹⁰⁷ The restored ending  in R11 appears to be unique¹⁰⁸.

The form introduces direct speech. Here we encounter a grammatical formation, already attested in R2 (p. 38): a pseudoverbal construction at the beginning of the sentence, serving as circumstantial clause to the following verb¹⁰⁹. Whereas in R2 the formation was dependent on a following *sdmw*, in R12 it is continued with a *sdm.n.f* (viz. *rdi.n.f*). The same is found in the Decree of Horemheb, l. 6: *M3't ii.t(i) hnm.n.s [m st.s]*, "Maat, having returned, she has (re)joined her place"¹¹⁰. The major difference is, that the verb-form in R11 uses the 1st pers. sing.¹¹¹, which relates to the *object* of the main clause (not identical with its *subject*, as in the Decree). Kruchten has indicated, that this typical formation is to be considered soundly Middle Egyptian, and not a Late Egyptian Present I¹¹².

15. *mn* - Noun, regularly used to replace a personal name¹¹³.
16. *rdi.n.f st3.t(w).i rdi.n.f di.tw nkt hr nhbt.i* - The messenger of the vizier here describes his treatment by official N. The first term he uses is *st3* "to usher in"¹¹⁴, the same as was used in the second prohibition of R10. It seems rather obvious, therefore, that the term used in the first prohibition of R10, viz. *hnn*, covers the notion of *rdi.n.f di.tw nkt hr nhbt.i*. The correlation centres around the noun *nkt*, "a little, item, something"¹¹⁵, an "omnibusword", that derives

¹⁰⁷ Cf. GEG, § 309 n. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Once attested as a dualis, cf. *Gram. Med. T.*, 163 (hh). Some unusual endings: e.g.,  for *.kwy*, cf. James, *Hekanakhte*, 24 (37); Grimal, *Pi*, 145, 10 (l. 113); , cf. Caminos, *Osorkon*, 71 (d).

¹⁰⁹ Interpreted in this way by Vergote, FP, 356 (94); cf. Kruchten, DH, 23.

¹¹⁰ Kruchten, DH, 20 l. 6; 23.

¹¹¹ Vergote, FP, 355-6 lists a number of parallels.

¹¹² DH, 23.

¹¹³ Wb II, 64, 13 - 65, 2; DLE I, 216; Derchain, RdE (1966), 34.

¹¹⁴ For the term, see above p. 92.

¹¹⁵ Wb II, 347, 10-6; FCD, 141; DLE II, 37. For the phrase *hr nhbt.i*, compare P. Anast. I, 13, 7 (Gardiner, EHT, 24; p. 16* n. 8).

its specific meaning from the context ¹¹⁶. It can acquire a neutral ¹¹⁷, a positive ¹¹⁸, and a negative sense ¹¹⁹, or even a quite specific one, such as "piece (of wood)" ¹²⁰. As outlined above (p. 92), there are reasons to assume, that the sense of *hnn* and *st3* is "illustrated" in a neighbouring scene (see p. 93 fig. 8). There, two men are clearly "drawn" into the vizier's presence. The first person is bent down by the right hand of an official. When the latter scene pertains to the action *hnn*, and therefore equals the circumscription of R12, then we may assume that in this context *nkt* refers to something like the hand or the force of the accompanying official.

There remains the question why the author has used *st3*, both in R10 and R12, while replacing *hnn* of R10 by the circumscription of R12. It is evident (cf. p. 92), that *st3* is a well-known technical term in court procedure, while *hnn* – in the sense of R10 – certainly is not. We take it, that the author has felt the need to explain his use of *hnn* by describing its essence in a phrase in R12. Moreover, the two prohibitions of R10 require *qualitate qua* concise key terms. On the other hand, R12 is phrased in direct speech, which easily invites a more free and paraphrasing language.

17. *sdm hpr(w) p3 sr [h] n' [p3 r-] wd3t* – For the peculiar writing of *hpr*, see above p. 75. The restoration *hn'* seems fairly certain, cf. Pl. 1. On Pl. 4, Davies gives the next word as *p3* with a questionmark. The traces on Pl. 1 could indeed suit the wing-tip of the *p3*-bird. After this, we would suggest as a logical restoration *wpwty* (i.e. the vizier's messenger).

The problem of this sentence rests in its verbal structure, its connection with the foregoing one, and its continuation in the lacuna. First of all, we note that apparently the direct speech has ended. The verb-form *sdm hpr(w)* must be a pseudoverbal construction. We take this to be the same as *h(3)b.kw(y)* in R11, although now phrased in indirect speech ¹²¹. In our view, it again serves as a circumstantial

¹¹⁶ Cf. CLEM, 9; 203. We note, that the "filling in" of *nkt* appears to be a NK phenomenon, cf. Van den Boorn, 371–2.

¹¹⁷ E.g., P. Bologna 1094, 1, 15: "the necessary (goods)" (CLEM, 5); P. Leiden 348 vo, 9, 2: "goods" (CLEM, 497); P. Anast. IV, 13, 12: "food" (CLEM, 203); likewise P. Anast. I, 17, 5/6 (Gardiner, EHT, 29).

¹¹⁸ E.g., P. Wilbour II, 85 n. 2: "advantage"; likewise P. Lansing, 7, 1 (CLEM, 395).

¹¹⁹ E.g., Installation of Rekhmire, R16: "something wrong" (Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 20; Davies, Pl. CXVIII); Decree of Horemheb, ll. 28, 29, 30, 31: "(illegal) contribution" (= bribe; Kruchten, DH, 96; 102); likewise Seti II decree from Karnak, l. 4 (Helck, ZÄS 81 (1956), 84; 85), and Nauri Decree, ll. 93, 106 (Griffith, JEA 13 (1927), Pl. XLII–III; p. 204); Gardiner, RdE 6 (1951), 122 (t).

¹²⁰ P. Edwin Smith 22 (8.15) (*Wb Med. T. I*, 486).

¹²¹ Here we may point out that, according to the ex. given by Vergote, FP, 355–6, this type of formation is virtually restricted to purely literary compositions, such as Ptahhotep, Sinuhe, Shipwrecked Sailor, Westcar (note the ex. from the Horemheb Decree, cited p. 112). So

clause depending on the main verb in the following lacuna, which – according to the continuation after the lacuna (R12–R13) – is likely to have been *hsf* (see below).

A connection with the previous sentence (R11–R12) seems probable. When we take this part of section 5 to describe a case of ill-treatment of the vizier's messenger, it would seem very awkward to find the introduction and subsequent description of the event formulated in an independent sentence, followed by a second independent sentence continuing the build-up of the case-description. One expects a set of introducing clauses connected to a main clause formulating the juridical actions to be taken at the end of the sentence ¹²². Consequently, we propose the following structure:

R11	<i>ir grt ii</i>]	<i>wpwty.f...r-dd:</i>	→ intr. formula	case- indication
R11– R12	" <i>h3b.kwy....nhbt.i</i> "		dir. speech: pseudoverb. constr. + main clause	case- description
	<i>sdm hprw.....</i> [.....,		indir. speech: pseudoverb. constr.	subsequent investiga- tion before penal action
R12– R13	<i>r-]</i>	<i>wd3t.....sw3 't.</i>	→ main clause ←	punishment

The complicating factor in this intricate sentence is that the case description is phrased in direct speech, a self-contained unit of information, while the resulting investigative action by the vizier is formulated in indirect speech, and that both precede the final penal action by the vizier in time and logical sequence.

The problem can be solved by considering the direct speech of the case-description as syntactically dependent on the introductory formula *r-dd*. After that, there follows a circumstantial clause. Both the former and the latter are syntactically dependent on the main verb in the lacuna (see below). The complexity of this sentence is unmatched in our text, but has close parallels in more or less

far, we were able to outline the literary styling – as a formal aspect –, that draws our text into the "literary sphere". With this formation, it appears that we are confronted with a grammatical aspect pointing in that direction.

¹²² As in contemporary decrees, e.g., Decree of Horemheb, cf. Kruchten, DH, 10–15 (with graphic arrangement on plan); Nauri Decree, cf. Edgerton, JNES 6 (1947), 222–7. See also next note.

contemporary sources ¹²³.

After the lacuna, the text is resumed by *wḏ3t*, to be restored to *r-wḏ3t*, as in R9 and R15 ¹²⁴. In view of what follows in R12-R13, and taking into consideration the parallel phrase in R9, it seems likely that the missing part preceding *wḏ3t* may be emended to [..., *in t3ty ḥsf n.f r-*] *wḏ3t*..., the suffix *.f* referring back to the guilty official N.

18. *n3 šny st ḥr.s in t3ty m ḥ3.f* - To *n3* refer the partic. masc. *šny* and the feminine resumptive pronoun *.s*, as usual in classical Middle Egyptian ¹²⁵; *st*, retained object after partic. masc. pass. *šny*. The ending *-y* indicates that *šny* is perfective and that the verb is a IIIae inf. ¹²⁶.

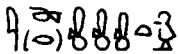
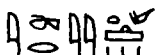
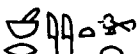
As I have pointed out elsewhere ¹²⁷, I prefer to translate *šni*, "to question officially, to interrogate", as compared with Helck's rendering "prozessieren" ¹²⁸. It has the advantage of referring back to *sdm ḥpr(w)* and of providing a meaningful interpretation of the phrase *in t3ty m ḥ3.f*. The verb recurs in R28 as *šnw*, partic. imperf. pass. ¹²⁹. In view of numerous attestations of the meaning "to inquire" ¹³⁰ etc., this form is not to be considered a hapax legomenon, as suggested by the Wb ¹³¹.

We note, that the interrogation of local urban officials takes place in the bureau of the vizier. In this case, the subject of interrogation is the ill-treatment of the vizier's messenger. Although pertaining to different matters, the same personal interrogation transpires from R25 ¹³². It is evident, that interrogations and hearings of urban authorities entailed their journeying to the seat of the vizier ¹³³:

- ¹²³ The same structure: introd. formula with *r-dd* - case-description in direct speech - indirect speech, continuation with circumst. clause(s) - main verb, is found in the Nauri Decree, ll. 104-7, 109-14, cf. Griffith, JEA 13 (1927), Pl. XLIII; Edgerton, JNES 6 (1947), 226-7; Decree of Horemheb, l. 27, cf. Kruchten, DH, 80; Lorton, TC, 56.
- ¹²⁴ Cf. above p. 85.
- ¹²⁵ Cf. GEG, § 511,3.
- ¹²⁶ Ibid., § 361.
- ¹²⁷ Van den Boorn, Date, 371 with n. 15. Farina and Struwe have the same interpretation (see section-heading).
- ¹²⁸ *Verwaltung*, 33.
- ¹²⁹ For this sentence, see above p. 86; below p. 280.
- ¹³⁰ To the material referred to in note 127, add: Urk IV, 1093, 6 (cf. Sethe, *Einsetzung*, 37 (176); Lichtheim, AEL II, 24); Kruchten, DH, 109; Kamose texts, l. 31 (Helck, HBT, 96; Habachi, *Kamose*, 43 (c)); Posener, LP, 110 n. 3.
- ¹³¹ Wb IV, 496, 1; FCD, 268.
- ¹³² For this sentence, see above p. 104 (4.4), and below p. 253.
- ¹³³ Other sources pointing out the same procedure, e.g., P. Kahun III, 1A, 7-8 (cf. Gardiner, Rec. Trav. 40 (1923), 79-80); P. Brooklyn 35.1446 rt, Ins. B, 10-2 (cf. Hayes, PLMK, Pl. V; p. 71). Tight relationships with the central government, as a means of curbing corruption etc. on a local level, are apparent in e.g. the Decree of Horemheb, ll. 3-8 (right), cf. Kruchten, DH, 148-61.

for the vizier, a perfect means of exercising effective control over his urban officials¹³⁴. For the functionaries involved, the possibility of being called back to the residence-city meant a check on possible irregularities, also support for their local politics in having the opportunity to consult the vizier and knowing that they were backed. On the practical side, it entailed a great deal of traveling. Moreover, it presupposes a local apparatus managing affairs in their absence.

19. *idryt* - The facsimile, Pl. 1, clearly shows the hieroglyph Signlist V 37 as  in R13¹³⁵, a deviated form not incorporated by Ward in his typology of V 37¹³⁶.
Again, we are dealing with an extremely rare noun, attested three times in pharaonic sources.

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 1)  | <i>Pyr. T.</i> 1462d,
<i>idrwt</i> | cf. Wb I, 155,3; Ward,
<i>Ba-roots</i> , 168-9; Edel, in:
<i>St. H.J. Polotsky</i> , 378-89. |
| 2)  | <i>Book of the Dead</i>
Ch. 125, <i>idryt</i> | cf. RB 119,12; cf. Wb I,
155,4. |
| 3)  | <i>Duties</i> , R13,
<i>idryt</i> | cf. Wb I, 155,4; Ward,
<i>Ba-roots</i> , 168-9; Edel, in:
<i>St. H.J. Polotsky</i> , 378-89. |

Its usual translation is "punishment"¹³⁷. Ward suggested a translation "fetters", which - according to him - coincides with the idea of punishment¹³⁸. In our view, "fetters" would seem to be too tangible an object in the given context. We prefer Edel's solution¹³⁹. He reconstructs *idryt* - a nomen actionis ending in -yt - as related to a verb *idr*, "to withhold from, to keep away" (attested Urk

¹³⁴ The analogy with pre-industrial Japan is enlightening!

¹³⁵ A usual form in late NK hieratic, e.g., P. Lansing 2,6 (LEM, 101); P. Turin A, vo. 2.9 (LEM, 123). W8 gives the sign as , not recognized by Davies (marked with x on Pl. 5), but given by Farina (Pl. B "Testo nella tomba di Woser", col 7, see section-heading). This is a usual form in the 18th dyn., cf. Ward, *Ba-roots*, 168.

¹³⁶ Ward, *Ba-roots*, 166. There is a marked resemblance with  of Urk IV, 196, 1. Note  in Urk IV, 85 5.

¹³⁷ For The Duties, see section-heading; Wb I, 155,4 ; FCD, 36; Lichtheim, AEL II, 129; id., in: *St. Wilson*, 65; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 99; Barquet, *Livre des Morts*, 162 ("sanction"); cf. Zandee, *Death*, 293.

¹³⁸ Ward, *Ba-roots*, 168-9, proceeding from a root *idr*, "to tie, bind together", written with Signlist V 37, in connection with a MK noun *idr*, "belt, girdle", pointed out by Jéquier.

¹³⁹ Edel, in: *St. H.J. Polotsky*, 385-7.

IV, 159,5 ¹⁴⁰), a rare allograph of the 2-rad. verb *dr*, "to expel, to repress" etc. (Wb V, 473-4) with prothetic *-i* ¹⁴¹. Then *i-dr-yt* could be rendered "repression, suppression", or the like.

Whatever the correct rendering of *idryt*, its use in our text calls for a comment. After the intricately formulated and quite detailed build-up of the *casus* in R11-R12, one would expect the last part of the sentence to provide equally precise information on the punishments meted out by the vizier. Instead, the author uses an altogether rare noun *idryt*, which he subsequently generalizes by means of *nb*: "any type of repression" ¹⁴². As compared with contemporary juridical records and decrees, this is quite unparalleled (even when we assume that the meaning of *idryt* was clear to the Egyptian reader, which may seem rather doubtful). We have to conclude that apparently it has not been the author's first intention to specify in great detail the penal measures taken by the vizier. Taking as a model the structure of royal decrees of a legal nature in the NK, he phrases the *casus* in the usual way, but describes the punishments in a general, unspecified and indeed awe-inspiring way. His main objective has been to describe the vizier's power in this respect as unlimited and immense.

Elsewhere, I have given a brief analysis of this - what I have called - "profiling" aspect of our text, as compared with its "describing" aspect ¹⁴³. We will have ample opportunity to return to the topic in the present study ¹⁴⁴. Here, it suffices to say that a case of ill-treatment of the vizier's messenger by a subordinate official is taken as an opportunity to emphasize the awesome penal powers of the vizier, in a way that far exceeds the legal requirements of their precise circumscription. What apparently matters is the might of the vizier, not the limits thereof.

20. *m-h3w-hr* - Compound preposition, apparently not found before the NK ¹⁴⁵. All scholars who have dealt with the sentence (see section heading), as well as Gardiner, Faulkner and the Wb ¹⁴⁶, render the preposition in the sense of "other than, except". However, they fail to provide parallels.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. FCD, 36; Wb I, 154, 15.

¹⁴¹ For ex. of *i-dr*, cf. Edel, in: *St. H.J. Polotsky*, 387; id., AG §§ 600; 630 (aa).

¹⁴² Followed by an equally vague punishment *sw3 't*, "the cutting off a limb", see below. If *idryt* were to be rendered "expulsion", i.e. banishment or ejection from office, it could denote a type of punishment of officials often found in conjunction with mutilation in the NK (cf. Lorton, TC, passim; Bedell, *Crim. Law*, passim). Then the terms *idryt nbt* - *sw3 't* might be regarded early "precursors" of the later set in which the punishments are always specified. However, there seems to be no way of verifying such a hypothesis.

¹⁴³ See Van den Boorn, Date, 378-81.

¹⁴⁴ See below chapter 4.6.4.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Van den Boorn, Date, 372, with n. 19.

¹⁴⁶ Wb III, 18,2 ("ausser?"); GEG, § 178 (p. 133 n. 2); FCD, 161.

The basic meaning of *h3w* is "abundance, surplus, excess" 147. Frequent compounds with *h3w* are *h3w hr* and *m-h3w*. The former is regularly used as object after certain verbs (viz. *rdi*, *irt*), thereby acquiring a comparative connotation 148, ex.: *rdi h3w hr irt*, "to give an excess upon what has been done", meaning "to give more than what has been done" (Caminos, *Osorkon*, 56). On the other hand, *m-h3w* is used to introduce an adverbial clause, thereby acquiring a cumulative connotation 149, ex: Duties R17-R18: *wd.f sw n.f m-h3w sdm n imy-r hwt*, "It is to him that he will summon him, in addition to questioning the overseer of fields". As compared with these two types of usage, the compound preposition *m-h3w-hr* is far less frequent. Taking into consideration that Duties R13 is one of the earliest occurrences of the preposition, we note that it covers – grammatically speaking – the same function as *m-h3w*. Therefore, it has a basic cumulative connotation 150. The element *hr* lends it an additional comparative sense: "in/as excess upon", "in/as increase upon", or "additionally as compared with" 151. Therefore, we do not consider the preposition to convey here a restrictive notion.

21. *sw3 't* – Note the shortened writing of *sw3*, here, as well as in R24 152. The verb is regularly found, in this type of writing, in NK legal texts 153. The noun '*t*' is written as , whereas its usual form is . This extremely rare writing appears to be imitating OK

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- 147 Wb III, 16–7; FCD, 161.
 148 Wb III, 17, 3–10; Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 123 (2.12); 165–6 (3.5–6); Blok, *P. Harris 500*, 130.
 149 Wb III, 17, 11–7; LGEC, § 517; James, *Hekanakhte*, 24 (39). Note *n h3w* in the same sense, O. DeM 553 (Allam, HOPR, 127–8 n. 3).
 150 Cf. Blok, *P. Harris 500*, 130; LGEC, § 517.
 151 Ex. Urk IV, 843, 10–1: Tuthmosis III, enlarging a colonade with four new columns, says: *iw irt.n hm.i p3 w3dw 4 m m3wt m w3t mht m-h3w-hr irt.n it*, "My Majesty made 4 papyriform columns anew on the northern road, as an increase upon what (my) father made." The last phrase demonstrates the evolution of the preposition, since *h3w hr* is found in the MK with the same sense: e.g., stela BM 1059.4: *rdi.n(i) h3w hr rdi it.i*, "I gave an increase upon what my father gave" (cf. Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 166 with further ref.), as well as *m-h3w* in the NK: e.g., Urk IV, 749, 7: *w3h.n.hm.i m m3wt m-h3w wnt m-b3h*, "My Majesty founded it anew, as an addition to what was before". Clearly, the actions are undertaken "in addition to and in comparison with" what has already been achieved in the past, in the "superlative sense", as pointed out by Fairman-Grdseloff, *JEA* 33 (1947), 29–30 (14).
 152 Cf. Van den Boorn, *Date*, 377 with n. 53. For the various meanings of , cf. GEG, Signlist Z 9; Grapow, *ZÄS* 49 (1911), 116–9.
 153 Gardiner, *Mes*, N21, N28 (with p. 20–1); Decree of Horemheb, ll. 16, 21 (Kruchten, *DH*, 28; 48).

writing habits ¹⁵⁴.

"The cutting off of a (specified) limb" (viz. ears, nose) is a well-known punishment or threat in oath-formulas from the NK onward ¹⁵⁵. Unparalleled is the fact, that in our text the limb to be cut off remains unspecified. The general – and therefore awesome – nature of *sw3 't* is linked, in this respect, to the same general implication of *idryt nbt*. Together, they amount to a huge punishment threatening the guilty official N. It seems obvious, that they are out of proportion to the offence itself. Other incentives must have induced the author to describe the punishments in this terrifying way, as already indicated above (p. 117). We would definitely prefer the solution pointed out in note 142 above, if evidence would be forthcoming in support of the contention.

The right to inflict punishments entailing mutilations seems to have been an exclusive prerogative of the Pharaoh in the late 18th dyn. and Ramesside period ¹⁵⁶. Assuming that this was also true in the earlier 18th dyn., we witness the vizier entering here the royal sphere. As in the first columns of the text (R1–R2) ¹⁵⁷, he adopts a "royal posture" in inflicting *idryt nbt m-h3w-hr hsf m sw3 't*.

In our text, there occur two types of corporal punishments: *hwt*, "bastonnade" (R9, cf. p. 85) and *sw3 't*, "the cutting off of a limb" (R13). These punishments are typical of the NK. They are firmly based in the NK penal system, which is characterized by the use of corporal punishments, as compared with their absence in the OK system (which prevailed until the end of the SIP). As I have indicated, their occurrence in our text may, therefore, be considered an argument in favour of a NK date of composition of our text ¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵⁴ The writing is attested four times in OK–FIP–MK, cf. Van den Boorn, Date, 377 n. 56. I have considered the possibility of reading  as

iw't, "heritage" which is possible in theory, cf. Van den Boorn, *Varia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1985), 11–7. However, I have dropped the idea, because "the cutting off of the heritage", as a punishment is unparalleled in this terminology, although the underlying idea seems to cover a historical reality from the late OK onward. See note 142 above.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Van den Boorn, Date, 372–3 with n. 25–6. Add: Meeks, RdE 26 (1974), 55 n. 6.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Kruchten, DH, 160; Bedell, *Crim. Law*, 173–9; for ref., cf. note 155.

¹⁵⁷ See above p. 40ff.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Van den Boorn, Date, 374–3. See chapter 4.3 below.

SECTION 6 R13 – R15

Pl. 1-2; 5

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVI, 13 – XXVII, 15; CXX, 13-15
Urk IV, 1108,15 – 1109,8 | |
| II | B, 276
F, 940-1
D, 91
S, 112 | H, 33-4
J, 64
L, 437-8 |
| III | Hayes, PLMK, 40
Valloggia, <i>Messagers</i> , 96
Théodoridès, in: <i>Legacy</i> , 309 | R13-R15
R13-R14 (partly)
R13-R14 (partly) |

TRANSLITERATION

R13 $\left[\begin{array}{l} \dot{r} \text{ grt } \dot{r} \text{t nb } \dot{t} \text{3ty } \dot{h} \text{r } \underline{s\dot{d}m} \text{ } ^a) \text{ m} [\dot{h} \text{3} \dots \dots \dots] \\ \text{A12: } \dot{h} \text{3.f, } \dot{r} \text{ nty nb } [\dots] \text{ mn}\dot{h} \end{array} \right.$

$\left[\begin{array}{l} \dots \dots \dots] \underline{s\dot{d}m.t.f} \text{ sw } \dot{h} \text{r.s, } \text{tm } \text{t(y).f(y)} \text{ dr } \text{n.f } \underline{s\dot{d}b} \text{ m} \\ [\dots \text{n}] \text{ wt nbt } \underline{s\dot{d}m.t.f} \end{array} \right.$

R14 $\underline{s\dot{d}m.f} \text{ } ^b) \dot{h} \text{pr } \text{r.s, } \dot{h} \text{r } \text{w3}\dot{h}. \text{t(w)} \dot{h} \text{r } \dot{\text{š}} \text{fd } \text{n } \dot{h} \text{bnty } \text{wnn } \text{m } \dot{h} \text{nrt } \text{wr; } \text{tmt(y)} \text{fy } \text{dr}$
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} \underline{s\dot{d}bw} \text{ } ^c) \text{ n } \text{wpwty.f m} [\dots \dots \dots] \text{sp.sn ky sp, } \dot{h} \text{r.t(w)} \text{ sm}\dot{t}. \text{t(w)} \\ \text{A13: m m}\dot{t}\text{tt; } \dot{r} \text{ } ^d) \dot{r} \text{w spw.sn} \end{array} \right.$
 $\text{sw}\dot{d}. \text{t(w)} \text{ } ^e) \text{ ntt st } \dot{h} \text{r } \dot{\text{š}} \text{fd}$

R15 $\text{n } \dot{h} \text{bnty } \dot{\text{š}} \text{sr mdt w3}\dot{h} \text{ st } \dot{h} \text{r.s } \dot{h} \text{r } \text{p3 } \dot{\text{š}} \text{fd r-w}\dot{d} \text{3t } \dot{k} \text{n.sn } ^f).$

VARIANTS

- A12 has slightly different phrase: $\dot{r} \text{ grt } \dot{r} \text{t } \dot{h} \text{t nbt } \dot{h} \text{r } \underline{s\dot{d}m}$.
- After $\underline{s\dot{d}m.f}$, Davies gives in W9 𐎓𐎔𐎕 .
- Whereas R14 has plural $\underline{s\dot{d}bw}$, W10 apparently has $\underline{s\dot{d}b}$.
- Davies suggests the beginning of the sentence in W10 to be: $\dot{h} \text{r } \dot{r} \text{w} \dot{r} \text{w} [\dots]$.
- In A13 $\text{sw}\dot{d}. \text{t}$ is left out. On the verb, see below p. 129ff.
- W11 has $[\dot{k}] \text{nw}$ in plural.

TRANSLATION

- R13 Now, as for every act of the vizier when hearing (cases) in his bureau ¹, as regards anyone who is [not] efficient in every [duty] ² concerning which he (the vizier) questions him ³, namely the one who will be unable to exculpate himself in
- R14 a hearing (lit. hearing of him) instituted on the matter ⁴, (he) shall be entered ⁵ on the criminal register which is in the "great prison" ⁶; the same goes for the one who will be unable to exculpate his messenger ⁷. If their wrongdoings ⁸ (will) occur for a second time, then there shall be reported and passed on ⁹ (to the vizier) that they are (registered) on the criminal
- R15 register (and) a statement on the case ¹⁰ for which they were (previously) entered on the register in accordance with their offence ¹¹.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

The beginning of section 6 may be regarded as one of the dividing lines in our text. Three observations are suggestive of this.

- 1) The first line of section 6, *ir grt irt nb t3ty hr sdm m h3.f* is closely paralleled by the first line of section 1 after the "title", *ir irt nbt p3 sr t3ty hr sdm m h3 n t3ty*. The latter phrase introduces a first part of the text that has a definite literary styling (sections 1-5). Now, the former phrase appears to initiate a second part that is only partially provided therewith (viz. section 8).
- 2) Grammatically speaking, the first 5 sections may be characterized by the great variety in verb-forms, complex formations and the intricacy of some of their clause-constructions. Moreover, we have noted a preponderance of rare nouns and verbs.
As compared with sections 1-5, sections 6-8 are rather more restricted and specific. Here, the typical scheme is: adverbial clause in anticipatory emphasis – main clause; conditional clause – main clause. Basically, the sections deal with the various subjects according to this pattern, creating a vague similarity in their outer appearance and arrangement. In addition, it appears that the number of rare terms is far less.
- 3) There is also a difference in the type of subject-matter treated by the sections. In the analysis of sections 1-5 it was possible to deduce general underlying key-concepts (sect. 1: introduction and "royal profilation"; 2: security; 3: communication; 4: administration of bureaucratic justice; 5: immunity of the vizier's messenger and viziral justice to local officials). Moreover, in these sections the viziral activities all centre around the *hnw* and especially the *pr-nsu*. Sections 6-8 are more specific and less conceptual in inclination and background. They deal primarily with specific people and things, prescribing rules and procedures.

Underlying key-concepts are harder to find. They focus on key-facts and regulations.

A second dividing line is found in R19. The clause *ntf grt inn knbtyw nw w* marks the introduction of a repetitive sequence of emphatic participial statements that stands in sharp contrast to the foregoing sections 6-8. It would seem warranted, therefore, to speak of a threefold division of our text:

Part 1 = sections 1-5

Part 2 = sections 6-8

Part 3 = sections 9-R36.

N.B. For the possible existence of a fourth and final part, see below p. 290.

Presently, no such division has been recognized. Helck was able to distinguish a twofold division: I = R1-R19, II = R19-R36 (*Verwaltung*, 40 n. 1).

We have refrained from incorporating the division in our layout of the text, because the contrast between the three parts seems to be too slight (apart from the stylistic aspect). The parts do not deal with circumscribed subjects of their own nor are they marked by formal criteria, such as headings, rubrics etc. They are differentiated on the basis of literary styling, grammatical considerations, general intention and background. The basic division of the text remains the sectional split-up. For additional remarks, see chapter 2.5-7 and 4.7.

COMMENTARY

1. *ir grt irt nb t3ty hr sdm m h3.f* - We have already noted the close similarity of this phrase with the one in R1. The prime reason for it being repeated here - in a slightly modified version and without a clear connection with the contents of section 6 - may have to be sought in the assumption that it is meant to introduce a main division of our text, viz. "part 2". Its counterpart in R1 introduced the first part¹.
2. *ir nty nb[]mnh m[nwt] nbt* - As so often, the two lacunae appear to be crucial for an understanding of the present section. Considering the remaining part of the sentence after the lacuna in R13, it seems probable that this clause - only preserved in A12 - describes a negative fact. Consequently, Davies proposed to

¹ Cf. p. 13ff. above. We note that the phrase is not used to introduce "part 3" in R19. Here the division is marked by a new grammatical formation: participial statements of the form *ntf* + participle.

restore 𐎧𐎠𐎡 , *n* in the first lacuna of A12 ². With this restoration, we are dealing with a rather rare grammatical construction, a relative clause with *nty* followed by a negated *sdm.f* (*mnḥ for mnḥ.f*) ³. Its use here was possibly inspired by a wish for variation in view of the following *sdmtyfy*-forms. Of the second lacuna in A12, Davies has only recognized 𐎧𐎠𐎡 ⁴. He suggests to restore *wnwt*, "service, duty" ⁵. A 𐎧𐎠𐎡 which suits the traces and fits the available space ⁵. A

third uncertainty is the group *mnh* *m*, which Davies gives with question marks (Pl. 5). Farina gives *mnh* and continues with a lacuna⁶. We have to rely here on Davies's epigraphic abilities and accept his tracings⁷. All in all, it may be evident that the original text cannot be established with absolute certainty.

Who is meant by *ir nty nb [n] mnh m [wnwt] nbt*? We take it that every (subordinate) official is intended. There are two indications to that effect.

- Of *wnwt nbt* it is said in the following relative form (see below), that the person involved is heard concerning it by the vizier. This would suggest that the vizier charged him with a certain task for which the man is responsible to the vizier. Most likely, therefore, the man is an official.
- In the second *sdmtyfy* clause (in R14), we find the person concerned unable to clear his messenger of certain allegations. It is the only occurrence in our text of a *wpwty*, not as agent of the vizier but of some other person ⁸. The only people we can conceive of as having *wpwtyw* of their own are (high ranking) officials, of the central as well as the local government.

² Davies, 91 (implicitly), followed by Helck and James (see section heading). We must note, however, that Farina's copy of the A version has *ir nty nb r mnḥ*[], cf. Farina, Pl. A ("Testo nella tomba di Amenemope"), col 12; likewise Urk IV, 1109, 1. On. Pl. 5 Davies indicated that he was unable to indentify the traces.

3 Cf. GEG, § 201.

4 Davies, 91, followed by Hayes and James (see section-heading). Helck, apparently has no real alternative (*Verwaltung*, 33).

5 For *wnt*, cf. Wb I, 317,3–8; FCD, 61. The noun is often provided with an astronomical connotation "(hour-)service", cf. AL II–III, s.v.; Goedicke, *Neferyt*, 115. There are no indications to that effect here. *Wnt* with neutral meaning, e.g., Urk IV, 121, 4; 959, 13; Gardiner, ZAS 47 (1910), 95 n. (q).

6 Farina, ref. note 2 above.

7 The verb *mnh* followed by prep. *m* is rather rare, but see Urk IV, 170, 12.

8 See below p. 128.

If our conjecture is correct, then the central theme of the present section – procedural treatment of inefficient officials – is a logical follow-up to the two previous sections: section 4 dealing with juridical rights and duties of officials of central administrative institutions; section 5 dealing with the vizier's messenger and local officials; these two presenting the vizier ultimately as chief and judge of all officials of Egypt. Seen in this perspective, section 6 deals with the fact that the vizier keeps record of the state of conduct and lapses of duty of his officials, as established in viziral hearings. It may be assumed, therefore, that the offences described in sections 4–5 come under the heading of procedure contained in section 6. The guilty officials of these sections are entered on the criminal register which is in the "great prison" together with an indication of their wrongdoings ⁹.

3. *sdm.t.f sw hr.s* – Davies adds a question mark to *sdm.t.f* in R13 on Pl. 5. However, the facsimile Pl. 1, as well as the parallel text of A12 corroborate his copy of the text. *sdm.t.f*, relative form dependent on *wnwt*.
4. *tmt(y)f(y) dr n.f sdb m sdm.f hpr r.s* – *Tmt(y)f(y): sdmtyfy* form of the negative verb *tm* followed by the negatival complement *dr*, used to denote the negation of *drtyfy* (GEG, § 397,2). *Sdb* covers a whole range of meanings, "obstacle, impediment, affliction, harm, evil" etc. ¹⁰. It can be used in a number of more or less fixed expressions ¹¹. One of them is *dr sdb* ¹². Due to the unspecific nature of *sdb*, it appears to be the context that lends *dr sdb* its specific meaning ¹³. Our context may be called juridical ¹⁴. Proceeding from a comparable context in P. Kahun II, 1, Théodoridès has argued that *dr sdb* is here to be rendered "écarter un manquement aux obligations, une défaillance", i.e. "to ward off (allegations of) official neglect"

⁹ Kruchten interprets the present section in the same way, cf. DH, 114.
¹⁰ Wb IV, 380–1; FCD, 258; cf. Parant, *Sinouhé*, 141; 191; 213. On its possible Semitic background, cf. Donner, ZÄS 80 (1955), 99 n. (q). Note here its shortened writing, common in the NK, cf. Van den Boorn, *Date*, 377 n. 53.
¹¹ E.g., *wdi sdb*, "inflict harm" (Wb IV, 382, 8–12); *wd sdb*, "to order harm (to someone)" (Žába, *Ptahh.*, 131–2); espec. *hwi sdb*, "to implant" or (!) "to destroy an obstacle" (Kees, ZÄS 63 (1918), 74–4; Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 55–6), also rendered as "to establish an obligation" (Vernus, RdE 26 (1974), 110 n. (j); Aufrère, GM 73 (1984), 63–4).
¹² Wb IV, 382, 13–5; Vernus, *Orientalia* 48 (1979), 180.
¹³ Other meanings, e.g., "to expel afflictions (of the body)", P. Berlin 3049 vo, XVIII,6 (Vernus, *Orientalia*, 48 (1979), 179–80 with further ref.); "to drive away evil" (Parant, *Sinouhé*, 141; 191; 213).
¹⁴ In the administrative-juridical sphere, *dr sdb* is rather common in MK letters, cf. Scharff, ZÄS 59 (1924), 43 with n. 3; Vernus, *Orientalia* 48 (1979), 180 n. 14.

15. His rather free translation covers the sense required, but in view of the unspecific nature of *sdb* I would prefer to render "to exculpate (oneself from)". *Dr* is regularly followed by the preposition *n* (dativus commodi) ¹⁶. *N.f* has reflexive meaning here. For the peculiar "alphabetic" writing of *hpr*, see above p. 75. Note the difference in the phrasing of the hearings: *sdm.t.f sw hr. s - m sdm.f hpr r.s*. In the first phrase (relative form), *hr.s* refers to *wnwt nbt*; in the second *r.s* refers to allegations of inefficiency, viz. *dr sdb* (and not *wnwt nbt*). The *tmtfy* clause constitutes a further specification of the person introduced by *ir nty*...

From the elaborate introduction of the people involved in R13-R14 it is apparent that the vizier institutes *two* hearings: one concerning *wnwt nbt*, and, if someone is found inefficient therein and subsequently faces charges of inefficiency, a second one in which the person concerned is given the opportunity to clear himself of the accusations. The latter apparently results from the former. We would like to make two general observations.

- 1) The second type of hearing in R13 is reminiscent of the procedure described in R8-R9 (p. 80ff) ¹⁷. Implicitly it is said there that a chief official has no right to judge his subordinate official when reproaches are levelled against the latter. It is the vizier who will judge him.
 - 2) Apparently, the vizier - in person or through his assistants - checks the workings of all of his subordinate officials in hearings. In this way, he is able to exercise effective control over his part of the machinery of government. When an official is suspected of having been inefficient or incompetent, he has the right to defend himself, again in a personal hearing. This right testifies to a high ethical standard and sense of justice adhered to in the civil service. The vizier cannot judge an official on the basis of suspicions and charges without having heard his defense ¹⁸.
5. *hr w3h.t(w)* - On Pl. 5 Davies adds a question mark to *w3h.t*. His reading is, however, ascertained beyond doubt by the same writing in R15 (Pl. 5). Note the omission of the subject (*.f*, the inefficient official), left out for reasons of self-evidency.
 6. *šfd n hbnty wnn m hrnt wr* - The noun *šfd* is common from the MK onward and denotes the papyrus-roll as a type of "document, register" ¹⁹. On the other hand, *hbnty*, "criminal" is sparsely

¹⁵ Théodoridès, RIDA 6 (1959), 120-1 n. 58 (on P. Kahun, Pl. XIII, 20ff.).

¹⁶ E.g., ref. in last note, Wb IV, 382, 13; Urk IV, 117,10; 499, 14; compare Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 56.

¹⁷ Strengthening our view that the content of section 6 is connected to 4-5, cf. above p. 124. The Decree of Horemheb, l. 31 seems to contain a reference to a similar type of interrogation, cf. Kruchten, DH, 96; 113-4.

¹⁸ See also above p. 40.

¹⁹ Wb IV, 461,11-7; LÄ I, 422-3.

attested, principally in the MK-NK ²⁰. Together, they amount to "the register of the criminal(s)", "criminal register", a unique designation unparalleled elsewhere ²¹. Its significance derives from the institution where it is kept, the *hnrt wr*, the "great prison". Hayes has made a detailed study of the term ²². He argues that the "great prison" enjoyed its greatest importance in the period comprising dyn. 12-17. It was an institution with strong – but undefined – ties to the central government (viz. King, vizier) ²³, located in Thebes ²⁴, and serving as a "place of confinement", as well as a "labour-camp". Its inmates included convicted criminals, people awaiting execution for capital crimes and corvée labourers.

In addition, the *hnrt wr* seems to have been provided with administrative or archival facilities since it contained (criminal) records and was supplied with a substantial scribal staff. Hayes' suggestion is to consider the "a-g Entries" on the recto of the well-known P. Brooklyn 35.1446 (12th dyn.) the text of, or rather excerpts from a *šfd n hbnty wnn m hnrt wr* ²⁵. After the SIP the term *hnrt wr* vanishes, only to reappear in the TIP ²⁶. The simple *hnrt*, however, is found fairly frequently in the NK

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- 20 Wb III, 254,6-7; e.g., Urk IV, 969,4 (stela of Intef, Louvre C 26); Lacau-Chevrier, CH, 107 l. 8.
- 21 Cf. below note 25 and p. 139. The phrase *sš n wd'(w)*, "register of the convicted", found in the Abusir Archive, comes close to our type of document, cf. Posener-Kriéger, *Arch.*, 457-8; Van den Boorn, JNES 44 (1985), 8 with notes 30-2. This OK document was possibly stored in the *r(w)t-Hwt-wrt*, "the gate/portico of the Great Houses" (juridic. institution, cf. Van den Boorn, o.c.). On the connection between *hnrt (wr ?)* and *hwt-wrt*, cf. Hayes, PLMK, 38 (proceeding from *Admonitions* 6,9-12). For the *hnrt* in the OK, cf. Roccati, JEA 68 (1982), 16-9; Hayes, PLMK, 40 n. 144.
- 22 Hayes, PLMK, 36-42; 64-6; 159 s.v.; cf. Lorton, TC, 17; Van Seters, JEA 50 (1964), 18-9. It must be noted that Hayes distinguishes between *hnrt wr*, "great prison" (a central institution) and *hnrt*, "prison" (small local-type prisons, sub-departments of the *hnrt wr*).
- 23 Espec. Hayes, PLMK, 134 ff. On this subject, see below p. 135ff.
- 24 Ibid., p. 16; 49. Whether there was also a *hnrt wr* in the Northern Residence is obscure. The possibility of having one *hnrt wr* in Thebes while having two administrative centres (viz., Thebes and Memphis, p. 18ff. above), as seems to be reflected in The Duties, may be compared with the MK situation as apparent from P. Brooklyn 35.1446 rt., cf. *ibid.*, p. 134-5.
- 25 Ibid., p. 65-6. *Admonitions*, 6,5 refers to these documents: *iw ms hnrt wr šd(w) sšw.f*, "Alas, the "great prison", its writings are taken away" (cf. Hayes, o.c., 39); see also above note 21.
- 26 Ibid., p. 39 n. 134 (ref. to Posener); 46 n. 180. We note that in the late SIP there still operates a *sš n hnrt wr* in Stèle Juridique, l. 12 (Lacau, *St. Jur.*, 22 = Helck, HBT, 66).

27. We have to assume, therefore, that the author of our text deals with the *hnrt wr* in the sense of the MK-SIP institution which apparently continued to be operative in the early years of the 18th dyn. (in conjunction with the continued use of *hnrt*) 28.

Hayes concluded that the people listed in the criminal register of the "great prison" (= P. Brooklyn 35.1446) had committed "offences against the state", viz., "the act of absconding to avoid fulfilling government-imposed labour obligations" 29. They were confined to the *hnrt wr*, or had illegally deserted it.

In R13-R14 of The Duties we find the statement that people inefficient in their duties are to be entered on its criminal register. Tentatively, we may propose that their offence was - to use Hayes' terminology - having "avoided fulfilling government-imposed duties" (viz. by the vizier). Interpreted in this way, their "crimes" are comparable with the crimes of those listed in the P. Brooklyn 35.1446 ro. However, in the latter text the registered people are "residents of towns and villages", ordinary "farmhands" attached to "government-lands" (*hbsw* 30) and "orchards", low-ranking officials employed by high-ranking officials and "peasant boys" 31. In The Duties we find no indications as to the status of the offenders. We have surmised that section 6 pertains to inefficient officials (p. 123). When we regard them in the broadest sense possible, viz. as employees of the government, there may be an (admittedly) slight resemblance with the people in P. Brooklyn 35.1446. It seems evident, however, that the tenor of section 6 embraces more and is less specific than the list of the Brooklyn papyrus.

In conclusion, we have to note that section 6 does *not* state that offenders are to be confined in the *hnrt wr*; they are only to be listed in its register. In fact, the section contains evidence to the contrary. In its last part it is said that, when their fault occurs for a second time, it has to be reported to the vizier that they already had been entered on the criminal register on a previous occasion, and for what reason that had been done (below p. 131). Apparently, the people involved have the opportunity to fail again. Because of the emphasis laid here on the working of the filing "task" of the *hnrt wr*, we are unable to regard the section as dealing additionally (and implicitly) with penitentiary confinement and statute labour of inefficient officials. In our view, the vizier uses the *hnrt wr* to store information on the state of (mis)conduct of his subordinate officials (and on the

27 Hayes, PLMK, 39 n. 134 and 136; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 74 n. 6; Caminos-James, *Silsileh I*, 59 (1): a *imy-r hnrt*, son of Rekhmire's predecessor User; James, CHIBM, 85-6 (197); *Adm.*, 46-7; DLE II, 184; Caminos, *Woe*, 28.

28 The term is later on increasingly replaced by *ith*, "prison", cf. Hayes, PLMK, 41-2.

29 Ibid., p. 47-52; 128-9.

30 For the term, see also below p. 174 n. 3.; 379 (4).

31 Citations from Hayes, PLMK, 27-30.

workings of his subordinate departments, see the commentary on section 7 below).

7. *tmt(y)fy dr sđbw n wpwty.f m mtt* - After the *m*, there occurs a lacuna in R14, which appears to embrace also the beginning of the next sentence. Davies indicates that the lacuna comprises 4 groups. The text in A13 and W10 is continued after *m* with *mtt* (= 1 group). It is evident, therefore, that the text in R13 is at variance with the copies in A13 and W10. Either the R-version has been provided with a more elaborate phrase (as happens also at the end of R14, *swđ.t*, cf. p. 129 below), or the beginning of the following clause has had a more extensive phrasing in R13, as compared with *ir iw* in A and W (= 1 group). A more elaborate way of writing the same group of words in R seems less likely. Here, we adhere to the A and W versions, lacking a solution for the oversized lacuna in R. The phrase *m mtt* replaces the main verb-form that follows after the first and parallel *tmtfy* clause, viz. *hr w3h.t(w)* etc.

We are informed that a person who is unable to exculpate his messenger faces the same "entry on the criminal register", as a man who is unable to exculpate himself. Apparently, a messenger does not exculpate himself but is exculpated by the man who charged him. He is considered the functional extension of the man whose message he carried. He is not to be blamed personally for any inefficiency in the course of his duties. Rather, the man who is the source of his inefficiency, viz. the man who send him on a mission doomed to fail or to be ineffective, he is to be blamed.

Conspicuously, the tenor of this statement fits neatly in with the first part of section 5 (above p. 110) ³². There, it transpired from the analysis that a messenger (the vizier's messenger in section 5) acts as an "ambassador" for the man who sends him. Carrying his message gives him ambassadorial status and diplomatic immunity. Any actions undertaken against him are undertaken at the same time against the author of the message, in other words, he is considered a functional (even physical) extension of the man who assigned him. On the basis of the statement in section 6, we may conclude that the dogmatic conceptions underlying the special position of the vizier's messenger in section 5 appear to apply also to the position of other messengers ³³.

The only people that we can conceive of as having messengers of their own, especially in conjunction with the workings of "diplomatic immunity" displayed here, are officials ³⁴. Taking into consideration that these people are probably questioned by the vizier

³² Again strengthening our assumption that section 6 is the follow-up of sections 4 and 5, cf. note 17 above.

³³ Due to an incorrect translation of this part of section 6 Valloggia was unable to see that the concept of diplomatic immunity and the prime responsibility of the messenger's patron receive here special emphasis for a second time, cf. *Messengers*, 96 (5); 224.

³⁴ For - sparsely attested - messengers of officials other than the vizier, cf. Valloggia, *Messengers*, 220-7.

himself (below p. 131), we might even narrow their number down to high-ranking officials (of central and local government). It is their state of conduct and degree of efficiency which the vizier is likely to have been interested in most. They are instrumental to an effective viziral administration. The present section seems to point, therefore, to an intricate system of checks and controls devised to guarantee the optimal operation of the civil service under the vizier.

8. *spw.sn* - *Sp*, "deed, act, matter", in the present context clearly acquires a negative sense "misdeed, fault" ³⁵. Note the word-game with following *ky sp*, "another time".
9. *hr.t(w) sm².t(w) sw².t(w) ntt* - As already noted (p. 120 (e)), *sw².t* is only given in the R-version; the somewhat later A-version has *hr sm².t(w) ntt* (A13). *Sw²* is written as *sw3²*, a feature already found in the MK ³⁶ and common in the NK ³⁷. The verb means "to hand over, to pass on", quite regularly with the specific sense "to hand over in possession/in heritage" ³⁸. Apparently, in R14 a communication has to be "passed on". I have not been able to trace parallels for this peculiar meaning. It may be tempting, therefore, to be reminded of the exceedingly common epistolary formula *sw²3 ib pw n X r ntt*, "it is a communication to X to the effect that ..." ³⁹. This fixed expression might have been the inspirational background for the typical use of *sw²* in R14 ⁴⁰.

A suggestion could be that *sw²* is used intentionally to stress the fact that the vizier is to be *handed* a (written) report (or extract of criminal register), documenting the earlier entry of the offenders on the register and the history of that particular case ⁴¹. After *sw².t(w)* there follows a noun clause introduced by *ntt*. It serves as object of two main verbs, *sm².t(w)* and *sw².t(w)*, that are both prefixed by the non-enclitic particle *hr* ⁴². The result is an

³⁵ FCD, 221; Zandee, *Death*, 290; e.g., Kruchten, DH, 232 s.v.

³⁶ E.g., Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 34 (3.16).

³⁷ Wb IV, 78.

³⁸ Cf. Spiegelberg, *Rechn.*, 33; James, *Hekanakhte*, 55; Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 34-5.

³⁹ Wb IV, 80; Bakir, *Epistolography*, 41 ff; 95ff. Hayes, PLMK, 40 apparently interprets *sw².t* along these lines.

⁴⁰ In view of the distinct hieratic writings of *sw(3)²* and *sw²3* in the early NK, we may exclude a corruption caused by misinterpretation of a hieratic "Vorlage" (compare Megally, *Considérations*, Pl. VIII: 14/281; XVI: 28:391; XLVI: i; LI: j).

⁴¹ This would agree with our view that the *hnrt wr* has primarily "archival" tasks in our text; cf. above p. 125ff.; below p. 135ff. Note in this respect Helck's rendering of *sw²*, "deponieren" ("to deposit, to file"), cf. *Aktenkunde*, 131 (II).

⁴² Cf. GEG, § 505.

interwoven pair of impersonal *hr sdm.f* constructions⁴³. All in all, one gains the impression that *swd.t(w)* occupies a somewhat curious place in R14 and that A13 retains a less intricate, less peculiar and therefore better text-copy. Apparently, the writer of the A-version shared our difficulties with the R-version. For an alternative interpretation and additional remarks, see under the next entry.

10. *šsr mdt* - The verb *šsr* seems to derive from the religious and ethical sphere and is rendered "to utter, to speak, to express"⁴⁴. It is regularly provided with the determinative *š*. The noun *šsr*, "utterance, expression", is usually determined by *ḥ*⁴⁵. In view of the determinative and the following *mdt*, we take *šsr* to be an infinitive. Our context appears to require a "juridical" sense of *mdt*, "words, speech, matter", viz. "juridical case, legal matter", a quite common feature in the NK⁴⁶. Obviously, *mdt* here refers to the former "case" of proven inefficiency on the part of the official⁴⁷. The group *šsr mdt* is rendered here "statement on (lit.: of) the (former) case"⁴⁸.

Grammatically speaking, *šsr mdt* seems to function as a noun clause to *smi.t(w)*, on the same level as *ntt st hr šfd n ḥbnty* (in our view, *swd.t(w)* is primarily related to the latter phrase and only secondarily to *šsr mdt*; see also below). We note the peculiar configuration of a nominal clause introduced by *ntt* and a second one without introduction, both acting as objects to the same main verbs. As regards contents, *šsr mdt* denotes a oral description of the former case of inefficiency (presumably by an official of the *ḥnrt wr* (its scribe?) or e.g. the vizier's messenger). If our suggestion on *smi.t(w)* *swd.t(w)* holds true (above p. 129), the *written* report on the factual matter of the official being registered is accompanied by a *verbal*

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- 43 We have discarded the possibility of considering *swd.t* a participle or a *sdm.tw.f* as object of *smi.t(w).f*. The result would be hopelessly obscure. For the *hr(f) sdm.f* construction in the apodosis of conditional sentences, cf. James, *Hekanakhte* 105-6 (8); below chapter 2.4.1.
- 44 Wb IV, 548, 1-7; FCD, 272; AL II, 382 (4200); *Adm.*, 110 (ro, 8). Gardiner, BFAO 30 (1931), 179-80 argues that the original (MK) form is *šsr*. See however Žába, *Ptahh.*, 57 (l. 515), which shows *šsr*.
- 45 Wb IV, 548, 8-13. Gardiner, AEO I, 3* doubts its meaning without suggesting an alternative.
- 46 E.g., Urk IV, 1070,3 (with Lacau, *St. Jur.*, 18); Caminos, *Woe*, 27 with note 1; cf. Decree of Horemheb, right, l. 4 (Kruchten, DH, 148; 150. One may compare *mdw m*, "to speak against, to litigate" etc., cf. Malinine, *Choix I*, 48 (17); Allam, HOPR, 47 n. 13; 257 n. 1; 275, n. 5.
- 47 Alternatively, it would seem possible to render *mdt* in the present context "verdict" or even "law-suit". However, its other occ., viz. R26, A23, R29, R32, favour a more general interpretation "juridical case, issue, matter".
- 48 Note that, as an "expression", the group seems to remain unparalleled.

description or explanation of the former case ⁴⁹. In this case we may surmise that the latter is considered an elucidation of the former. So far, our interpretation is based on *šsr* being an infinitive and covering a verbal action, on account of its determinative *š*. However, if we were to proceed from the noun *šsr* (det. *š*), we might venture to translate "(written) statement on the case" which could be tied specifically to *swd.t(w)*. Then *ntt st hr šfd n hbnty* could be linked to *smi.t(w)*. This alternative looses some of its force when *swd.t(w)* is considered a peculiar intrusion into the R version, the A version retaining the better text-copy (in which case *šsr mdt* would still have to be tied to *smi.t(w)*). If not so, the alternative would modify our view on the syntactical connections in this intricate sentence but the net result of the interpretation would remain the same. The major argument against this alternative seems to be the specific verbal notion conveyed by the term *šsr*.

We think that the general sense of the sentence is clear. When a certain official turns out to be a recidivist in inefficiency, his previous entry on the criminal register has to be reported (in writing?) to the vizier. The report is accompanied by a separate verbal description of his past fault. In other words, his criminal record is checked in detail, apparently to enable the vizier to take into account the facts and circumstances of the offender's criminal past in the evaluation and assessment of the new act of inefficiency ⁵⁰. In this way, his judgement will be just.

We are again confronted here with the high standards of justice adhered to in our text (cf. above p. 125). A recidivist is not treated in the same way as a new offender. He bears the load of his former faults when being judged a second time for the same type of wrongdoing ⁵¹. At the same time, we are allowed an insight into an intricate system of archives at the disposal of the vizier, containing records on the officials of Egypt.

11. *kn.sn* - The noun *kn* turns out to be one of those vague words denoting "evil, harm, offence", or "want, shortage, shortcoming" ⁵². It may be compared with *iw* in the similar context of R9 (p. 85) ⁵³. Evidently, it covers all types of previous inefficiencies on the part of

⁴⁹ It might very well be to mark the opposition of a *written* report added to a verbal statement (*šsr*) that the R-version has *swd.t(w)* interjected between *smi.t(w)* and *ntt*.

⁵⁰ We do not agree with Kruchten's contention (DH, 114), that this new act of inefficiency leads to a punishment for all previous crimes, using the criminal register as a sort of check-list. The text does not deal with punishments here. It deals with the processing of stored information and its consultation by the vizier.

⁵¹ Which, as we know from e.g. the Ramesside material from Deir el-Medineh, was a fairly common phenomenon.

⁵² Wb V, 48,2-13; FCD, 279; Zandee, *Death*, 291.

⁵³ Compare also *sk* in R8 (p. 81) and *sqb* in R13 (p. 124).

the officials. As in *sp.sn* in R14, the suffix *.sn* in *ḫn.sn* refers to both the official referred to in the first *tmtyfy*-clause and the official acting for his messenger in the second one.

SECTION 7 R15 – R17

Pl. 2; 5

- I Davies, Pl. XXVII, 15–17; CXX, 15–17
Urk IV, 1109,11 – 1110,6
- II B, 276 H, 34
F, 941–2 J, 64
D, 91 L, 438
S, 113
- III GEG, § 199 R15
Valloggia, *Messagers*, 96–7 R16 (last part) – R17

TRANSLITERATION

- R15 *ir sšw nb h(3)bw t3ty[.....]h3 nb m nty nn st hbs, hr it.t(w) n.f hn'*
šfdw iry!
- R16 *!w irw hr htm n sdmw sšw irw m-s3.sn; hr.f pg3.f sw; hr-ir-m-ht m33.f*
sw, h[r it.]t(w).f r st.f htm hr htm n t3ty; ir grt dbh.f sš!
- R17 *!w hbs, m rdi(w) it.t(w).f in iryw irw.*

TRANSLATION

- R15 As for any written document which the vizier sends [for concerning] any bureau ¹, namely the one which is not (yet) covered (i.e. "closed") ², (it) shall be taken to him with the registers ³ [by] its officials
- R16 involved ⁴, being under the seal of the investigators (lit. "hearers") and its responsible scribes ⁵. He shall open it ⁶. After he has inspected it, it will be taken to its proper place sealed with the seal of the vizier ⁷. However, if he requests a covered (i.e. "closed")
- R17 document ⁸, it is not allowed to be brought by its officials involved ⁹.

COMMENTARY

1. *ir sšw nb h(3)bw t3ty[]h3 nb m* - In R15 the facsimile, Pl. 2, shows a large lacuna. Of *t3ty* only the *t* is preserved. *h3 nb* appears fairly certain, while the following *m* can be recognized by traces of its feet and tail. We accept Davies' reading on Pl. 5, with restoration of *t3ty*. The ending -w in *h(3)bw* indicates the verb-form to be an imperfective pass. partic. or imperfective relative form¹. Two points are important in attempting to restore the first part of the lacuna after *t3ty*.

- There is a marked resemblance between the phrase under discussion and the opening phrase of section 8 (R17), *ir g(r)t wpwty nb h(3)b t3ty r.f hr sprty nb....* There, the verb *h3b* is construed with *r* (see below p. 148).
- In the last part of the present section the vizier *asks for* certain documents (*dbh*).

We therefore propose to restore *h(3)bw t3ty [r.f...., "which the vizier sends for"*². A restoration *r.f* seems preferable to *r.sn* (viz. *sšw*) in view of the parallelism with section 8 and the continuation *mnty nn st hbs*, which could be thought of as a specification in singularis (considering *sšw* in R15 and R16/17 an abstractum in plural with singular meaning). Moreover, there has to be room for the restoration of the element preceding *h3*. Proceeding from the resemblance with the phrase in R17, we venture to restore *hr*. Our proposal is therefore: *ir sšw nb h(3)bw t3ty [r.f hr] h3 nb*, which would suit the available space³. The restored preposition *hr* could be rendered in various ways. We much prefer to render *hr*, "concerning". It is used in this way in the comparable phrase of R17. Moreover, with this translation there emerges a relationship as regards contents with the preceding section.

In anticipation of the discussion below, it seems appropriate to present the reader here with a brief outline of our view on the content of the present section in order to facilitate the assessment of our argument below.

Section 6 dealt with inefficient officials and their subsequent registration on the "criminal register which is in the great prison". If they happened to offend again the vizier had to receive from the "great prison" a written report on their previous registration and wrongdoing. The beginning of section 7 indicates, in our view, a change of focus of attention on the part of the vizier but one which

¹ Cf. GEG, §§ 358; 387.

² For *h3b + r*, cf. De Buck, in: *St. Griffith*, 57-8. For the various possibilities after *h3b*, cf. Blok, *P. Harris 500 vo.*, 61-2.

³ Urk IV, 1109,1 has: *ir sšw nb h(3)bw [t3ty hr.f n] h3 nb*. Due to the uncertainty of the restoration the various studies cited in the section-heading yield widely diverging translations.

remains more or less in line with the tenor of the last part of section 6. Our contention may be illustrated in a paraphrased way: "As for any document that the vizier sends for, not concerning any official (section 6) but concerning any bureau (section 7)..."

The function of the *hnrt wr* as a central filing system at the disposal of the vizier in section 6, now emerges in section 7. It applies here to records on departments and bureaus that are responsible to the vizier (we encountered these already in section 4, p. 80). In "sending for documents (from the *hnrt wr*) concerning any bureau", the vizier is checking the records compiled on his departments and (to be) stored in the "great prison". In this way he is able to exercise effective control on their workings. To summarize our view: in The Duties the *hnrt wr* is operative in two, related ways. In section 6 it deals with the keeping of records on the state of conduct of officials at the disposal of the vizier. In section 7 it functions as a central filing institution for administrative records on the various civil departments responsible to the vizier, again at his disposal. The former is a juridical-administrative aspect, the latter an archival aspect. Together they pertain to the control by the vizier over the personnel and central departments of his administration. We may briefly list some indications in support of our proposal.

After the link with section 6 at the beginning of the present one, it diverges in a somewhat different direction; it appears to be concerned with the procedural handling of different types of documents. Two different procedures are to be followed for two distinct types. The reasons for this diversification appear to be age and status of the documents (below p. 137ff.). A logical explanation for this feature offers itself when considered in conjunction with our view on the topic which these documents are concerned with, viz. *h3 nb*, "any department", and the functionaries conveying them to the vizier (or not) (see below p. 139ff.).

Our assumption involves regarding the *hnrt wr* as the source of the documents. The hypothesis can account for the indication that - after viziral inspection - they have to be brought to their "proper place", the place where they belong, viz. an archive of some sort (see below p. 143). As we have seen above, the *hnrt wr* was provided with a large scribal staff apparently dealing with archival tasks. Our proposal can also explain the accompanying *šfdw* (in R15) and the titles *sqmw* and *sšw* (in R16) (see below p. 141ff.). Finally, it must be pointed out that in this way one is able to suggest a source from where the documents originate (moreover, a source that has been dealt with by the text in section 6 in a related context). This feature would remain unexplained otherwise.

We are well aware that the ideas presented here rest on the restoration of *hr* in the sense of "concerning". A wide variety of translations has been given for the present passage (see the section-heading). In our view, they do not provide a logical framework for the section and are unable to explain much of its detailed information.

A point to be clarified first is whether the *hnrt wr* indeed stored records concerning departments and whether they were used by the vizier in this respect. Again, Hayes' analysis will serve as our main

source of information. What is, in fact, apparent from the various entries on the P. Brooklyn 35.1446 is the existence of a range of governmental departments and provincial institutions tied to the *hnrt wr* through receiving instructions and documents from it, as well as providing it with written information, viz. (using Hayes' terminology) the departments of agriculture ("Office of Fields", *imy-r 3ht*)⁴, the department of public works ("Office of the Provider-of-People", *h3 n dd-rmt*)⁵, the *knbtw nw w* ("Councillors of the District")⁶, the *d3d3wt* ("Juridical Councils")⁷, the *w'rt*-departments of specific activities and of geographic units⁸. The criminal cases listed in the "a-g Entries" (an extract of a *šfd n hnty*, stored in the *hnrt wr*, see p. 126) are in fact declared "closed" by the scribe of the vizier⁹. The actual directives contained in these "Entries" are made by the vizier to the *hnrt wr*¹⁰.

Drawing on the wealth of information in the Brooklyn papyrus and on a number of related sources¹¹, Hayes describes "an intricate system of interrelated government bureaus, the whole directed and co-ordinated by the office of the vizier, to whom all were more or less responsible and with whom all were more or less in continuous liaison"¹². He is tempted to regard the *hnrt wr* in this respect as "one of the several activities controlled directly by the Office of the Vizier"¹³.

When considered an extension of the *h3 n t3ty*, the relations between the *hnrt wr* and the various governmental departments become understandable. The "great prison" becomes an institutional aspect of the viziral administration that directs and controls them. In view of the foregoing remarks, here as well as in section 6, we may suggest

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- 4 Hayes, PLMK, 39-40; 85. For the title, see also below p. 153ff.
 5 Ibid., 39-40; 56; 137. On the key function of this MK department, see also Menu, in: *Droit ég. anc.*, 117-25; Kees, ZÄS 70 (1934), 86-9; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 192-3; Andreu, BIFAO 80 (1980), 144-6. Note P. Reisner I, 46.
 6 Hayes, PLMK, 69-70; 140. For the title, see also below p. 174ff.
 7 Ibid., 45-6, 14-2. For the term, see also below p. 157.
 8 Ibid., 36; 54; 70; 136-9; cf. Van den Boorn, Date, 375 note 34. Comparable connections between the *w'rt* of the North, the *hnrt wr* and the office of the vizier were still operative in the 17th dyn., as evidenced by the Stèle Juridique (Lacau, *St. Juridique* = Helck, HBT, 65ff.): an *imyt-pr* is made in presence of the vizier (l. 10), drawn up by the bureau of the herald of the *w'rt* of the North (l. 11-2) and dictated (*qd(w) n*) to the scribe of the "great prison" acting as the latter's scribe (l. 12); afterwards a copy was brought from the herald's office to the office of the vizier (l. 15) and stored there (l. 16, 22, 23).
 9 Hayes, PLMK, 61-2; 135.
 10 Ibid., 135.
 11 Ibid., 39-40 and passim.
 12 Citations from *ibid.*, 134 (slightly abbreviated).
 13 Citation from *ibid.*, 137. In her more general analysis, B. Menu reached the same conclusions, in: *Droit ég. anc.*, 117-25.

this to be the "archival" division, viz. the central filing system at the disposal of the vizier ¹⁴. When seen in this perspective, it is not surprising to encounter in section 7 a statement that the vizier sends to the "great prison" for documents concerning bureaus.

These written documents are called here *sšw* ¹⁵. Conspicuously, the Admonitions (l. 6,5) uses the same term in the same general way when complaining that "the great prison is robbed of its documents" ¹⁶.

2. *m nty nn st ḥbs* - For the construction: *m* of predication with following relative adjective, see GEG, § 199. The verb *ḥbs* poses a problem. Its usual meaning "to cover, to clothe" appears to be unique with reference to documents ¹⁷. We note that metaphorical instances of *ḥbs* are rather common, e.g., *ḥbs-ḥr*, "to be veiled of face", *ḥbs-rn*, "to be veiled of name" ¹⁸. The question is whether the present phrase is to be rendered in the proper sense "covered, clothed" with (e.g.) a kind of protection-sheet or container ¹⁹, or "covered" in the sense of "wrapped up" (in envelopes) ²⁰, or "covered" as "(being) signed and sealed" ²¹, or whether *ḥbs* has been used in a metaphorical sense "secret, confidential" ²². Lacking parallels we have to rely on the context.

From the statements that follow the one under discussion it transpires that the document which the vizier sends for is in the course of processing: it has to be brought with (its) register(s) by the departmental officials to whom it pertains (see below p. 139), sealed with the seal of the "hearers", who have investigated the departmental matters, and with the seal of the responsible scribes who drew up the document. When delivered the vizier will open it, inspect it, seal it and have it brought to its "proper place", viz. the

14 Menu also stresses its administrative character, in: *Droit ég. anc.*, 124-5. A second aspect will be pointed out below. In The Duties, the "great prison" appears to have nothing in common with our notion of a prison.

15 Cf. Bakir, *Epistolography*, 17.

16 See above p. 126 note 25.

17 Wb III, 65, 10; FCD, 167.

18 Cf. Wb III, 65, 1-8, Lichtheim, in: *St. Wilson*, 65-6. See also above p. 31.

19 Cf. H. Junker, *Weta und das Lederkunsth Handwerk im Alten Reich*, Wien, 1957, 24-7; Hermann, MDAIK 15 (1957), 112-9. Junker (o.c., 26 n. 21) suggests that a type of leather container is represented in the tomb of Rekhmire: Davies, Pl. LIV 2d reg. right (cf. *ibid.*, p. 50). He also points to the curious determinative of 3'w , "portable container (?)" (o.c., 25; cf. Wb I, 3, 7-8).

20 Davies, 91 n. 63; Breasted, 276 n. f (ref. see section-heading). Less likely in view of following *pg3* in R16.

21 GEG, § 199.

22 Breasted, 276; Struwe, 113; Luft, 438; James, 64; Davies, 91; Helck, 34; Valloggia, 96 (for ref. see section-heading). Wb III, 65, 10; FCD, 167; Sethe, *Einsetzung*, 47; Schott, WZKM 54 (1957), 178.

archive where it then belongs. After this procedure the document may apparently be considered "closed" or "seen" (compare e.g. the well-known indication *kn* ²³). The reason for it being in the course of processing seems to be that the piece awaits inspection (viz. *pg3*, *m33*) and finalising of its contents (*hr htm n t3ty*) by the vizier.

Proceeding from our hypothesis, the vizier is expected to receive from the *hnrt wr* the written documents concerning every department to be filed there, before they actually can be archived in the *hnrt wr*. In this way he controls through the "great prison" the administrative workings of his departments. This reconstruction is in fact illustrated in the P. Brooklyn 35.1446 where we find that the cases listed on the recto have been "closed" by the scribe of the vizier ²⁴. For this reason also, the present document yet to be handled has to be brought by the departmental officials with whom it is concerned and it has to be accompanied by its register(s).

When a document is *hbs* the vetitive of R17 explicitly states that, upon request of the vizier, it is *not* to be brought by the departmental officials. Evidently, the matters treated in the *hbs*-documents are considered finalised. At an earlier stage the vizier has inspected them and has heard the comments of the officials. Since the departmental officials have nothing to do with a *hbs*-document (only with a non-*hbs*-document), they are not allowed to take it to the vizier. Their attendance is only required when a document is new and its contents are not yet finalised. Then the vizier needs their comments and information. Filed documents, stored as finalised in the *hnrt wr*, are no concern of theirs anymore. In the latter case the vizier consults records drawn up previously; in the former case he evaluates a provisional document in the course of being finalised ²⁵.

It follows from this reconstruction that *hbs* has to be rendered more or less in its proper sense "covered", i.e. "closed", along the lines of Gardiner's proposal "covered (i.e. signed and sealed)" ²⁶.

If we were to interpret *hbs* as "confidential", "secret", we would be unable to account for the detailed procedures to be followed in the case of non-confidential documents, while simply prohibiting the procedure in the case of confidential ones. One would expect the opposite: instructions and procedures for secret documents and not for non-secret ones. It is the emphasis on procedures to be followed for non-*hbs*-documents which leads us to believe that *hbs* means "finalised, closed", the procedures being intended to secure that the documents will and can be finalised by the vizier. For additional remarks, see below p. 139.

²³ On this type of indication, cf. Helck, *Aktenkunde*, 60-3; 132 (ww).

²⁴ See above p. 136 and note 8.

²⁵ We note - in support of our hypothesis - that this distinction is paralleled in section 6: its first part deals with new registration of inefficient officials, while its second part pertains to the consultation of old records on a previous registration.

²⁶ Cf. note 21 above (against the opinion of virtually all translators, ref. note 22).

In conclusion we note the peculiar mixture of plural and singular indications in R15-R17: *sšw nb...*, *m nty nn st...*, *šfdw*, *iryw irw...*, *sšw...*; *pg3.f sw*; *m33.f sw...*, *it.t(w).f...*, *st.f...*; *sšw...* It seems to indicate that in practise only one document is dealt with at one time. The first and the last part of the section are (partially) phrased in plural to generalize the procedure and to ensure that it is followed in each instance.

3. *hr it.t(w) n.f hn' šfdw* - For *it*, "to convey", see above p. 97. Note the ellipse of the subject, as in the comparable phrase *hr w3h.t(w)* in R14 ²⁷. It seems plausible that *šfd* refers here to a type of document similar to *šfd n hbnty* in R14. The "abbreviated" form occurs in R15 where it clearly refers to the "criminal register" of R14. Therefore, we appear to be dealing here with "registers (which are in the "great prison")". With reference to plural *sšw nb*, *šfdw* occurs here in plural. It is clear from the context that the *šfdw* are not the documents themselves but apparently a kind of list on which various documents are registered. It is tempting to consider the *šfdw* in this respect a type of "Sammelbericht" in the form of an excerpt of the various documents concerning a specific department ²⁸. This type of overall checklist would allow the vizier a quick and detailed insight into the chronology and nature of the documents previously dealt with and filed in the "great prison". In this way he gained an overall picture of all relevant information from the past which he had to take into account in the evaluation of the new documentation. In using the *šfd* (pertaining to a certain bureau) he could dispense with checking the whole archive concerned ²⁹. To sum up: the *šfd n hbnty* appears to be used in section 6 as a "Sammelbericht" on the (mis)conduct of officials, in section 7 an abbreviated form *šfd* functions as a "Sammelbericht" on the stored documentation concerning a specific department. It is worthwhile noticing the self-praisal of the vizier Rahotep (temp. Ramses II): *rh smw* (det. *rh*, error for *snnw*?), *lnk ip šfdw*, "(I am one) who knows the protocols (?), I am the one who examines the registers" ³⁰.

4. *iryw irw* - Above we have adopted the reading *iry* in our text for nouns written with Signlist A 47 ³¹. This nominalized

²⁷ Cf. above p. 125.

²⁸ On this type of document, cf. LÄ I, 422-4.

²⁹ The recto of the P. Brooklyn 35.1446 appears to be a kind of "Sammelbericht", listing seventy-six cases of fugitive statute-laborers, selected and assembled for obscure reasons (cf. Hayes, PLMK, 64-6; 127-9; Menu, in: *Droit ég. anc.*, 117-25).

³⁰ Stela Cairo JdE 48845, B, 7, cf. Moursi, MDAIK 37 (1981), 324 Abb. 2, l. 7 = KRI III, 54, 3. For *snn*, cf. Helck, *Aktenkunde*, 131 (oo); LÄ I, 122.

³¹ See above p. 35; 68. Alternatively, we could read *s3w*, "guard(ian)". In conjunction with our previous remarks and in view of the wordgame with following *irw*, this would seem rather unlikely.

nisbe-adjective is followed by *iry* in the rare writing *irw*, "thereof, their..." ³². The group *iryw irw* means something like "the ones belonging/pertaining thereto/thereof". The point is to decide to what these people belong or pertain.

A first possibility is to consider them as related to the *sšw*, "documents", regarding them as "guardians" or "keepers" of the documents. However, the vetitive of R17 states that *hbs*-documents are *not* to be conveyed by the *iryw irw*. It would seem rather improbable, therefore, to render *iryw irw* as "their guardians", when we have just found out that these guardians are not allowed to bring a (specific type of) document, though this would seem to be a primary task of these people.

A second possibility is to consider the *iryw irw* related to *h3 nb*. The element *iryw* may refer to *h3 nb* as "ones belonging thereto", i.e. officials of a particular department ³³. The second element *irw* may pertain to *sšw* as "thereof, therein", i.e. relating to their contents (as in *sšw irw*, "their scribes" in R16). Together the group would amount to "the departmental officials to whom the document relates", "the officials of the *h3* involved in the document", or "officials of the *h3* with which the document is concerned". We admit, this is an intricate solution for an equally intricate phrase. On the other hand, the nature and the style of our text indicate that it must have been used intentionally: a concise term to denote through one circumscription a specific group of people.

In the prohibition of R17 the author stresses that these people are not allowed to take *hbs*-documents to the vizier. Conceivably, they may very well convey non-*hbs*-documents in the first part of the section. We now have to look for a solution which can explain their involvement in documents that are not (yet) finalised and their disinvolvement in finalised documents. An emendation [*in*] *iryw irw* suggests itself, parallel to R17. Our reconstruction is the following.

When the vizier sends for documents concerning any department, they have to be taken to him by the official(s) of the department which that particular document is concerned with, together with the *šfd*, "register", on that department. As we will discuss in the next entry, the document has been drawn up by scribes of the *hnrt wr* after inquiry by the "hearers" of the latter institution. The aim of the procedure is to allow the vizier a means of checking and controlling the workings of his various departments. All the information needed to that effect is now at his fingertips: a provisional document by the "hearers" and the scribes of his central filing system plus the "Sammelbericht" of the *hnrt wr* on the office concerned on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the official(s) of that particular department. He will break (*pg3*) the hearer's and scribal seals and inspect its contents (*m3*). At this stage, the

32 GEG, § 113,2; cf. Lorton, JT, 159 n. 145; Sethe, *Einsetzung*, 33 (152). For its "possessive" value, see also AL I-III s.v.

33 Compare the collective description of the heads of *pr-nsw* departments as *iry nb sšm* in R6-R7, cf. p. 68ff.

departmental officials have the opportunity to modify its contents by their comments and/or additional remarks and information. Then the vizier closes the document with his seal having reached his assessment on the matter concerned. The document on (a specific activity of) a specific department is now considered finalised (*hbs*) and is subsequently brought to its "proper place" (*st.f*). However, when the vizier requests a *hbs*-type of document on one of the departments, the officials involved are not allowed to be present. The underlying notion seems to be that the viziral bureaucracy would turn out to be hopelessly inefficient and paralysed by ongoing discussions if the officials involved would be allowed to be present each time the vizier consults a finalised record on their department. They have that opportunity once: when the document is still provisional and not yet finalised. After that it is not their business any more ³⁴. As elsewhere in the text, correct procedures and efficiency appear to be key words. We, therefore, propose to emend [*in*] *iryw irw* and to interpret the latter as "its officials involved".

5. *hr htm n sdmw sšw irw m-s3.sn* - If the analysis presented above be deemed acceptable, then this adverbial phrase pertains to the documents and not to e.g., the *iryw irw* (as several scholars take it). The "title" *sdm* could be interpreted as the abbreviated form of the well known *sdm-š*, "servant" ³⁵. In our view, it is rather improbable that provisional documents which are to be taken to the vizier would be provided with the seal of "servants". It seems more appropriate to consider *sdmw* (lit. "hearers") a variant writing of *sdmyw*, usually rendered "hearers, judges" ³⁶. An important element in our perception of the present section is that

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- 34 The fact that the prohibition is added to the standard procedural prescriptions may indicate that officials actually did try to modify existing records on or relating to their departments. Perhaps we may point to the tampering with documents in the proceedings of Mes.
 - 35 The abbreviated form is attested from the early NK onwards, cf. Bogoslovski, ZÄS 101 (1974), 81-9; id., *Ägypten und Kush*, 81-95; Vleeming, P. Reinhardt, 89. Blok interpreted our passage in this sense, P. Harris 500 vo., 93.
 - 36 Wb IV, 388-9; espec. in the term *knbt sdmyw*, cf. Lurje, SAR, 57-62. It is to be doubted whether there is a distinction *sdmw*, "hearers" - *sdmyw*, "judges" (as a juridical "title") as has been suggested (Wb IV, 388-9). In our view, the two indications - not real titles - are the same and are merely differentiated according to context: "hearers" can function elsewhere as "hearers (of juridical cases)" which precludes isolating the latter as an independent title; see Spiegelberg, Rec. Trav. 28 (1906), 170-3; Žába, *Ptahh.*, 111 (30); 163 (534); AEL I, 76 n. 4. The best illustration of the variations in meaning of *sdm* in one and the same context is afforded by Ptahhotep II. 531-564 (Žába, *Ptahh.*, 58-60; 100-2; 163-4; AEL I, 73-4). The ending -*yw* in *sdmyw* probably is the full ending of the partic. imperf. act. (GEG, § 357), absent in *sdmw*.

the *hnrt wr* has a subdepartment called the *hnrt n sdm*, "the prison of hearing", apparently its section of investigation³⁷. In connection with this department the title *sdm rmt*, "hearer of people" is attested³⁸. It seems plausible to consider our *sdmw* the "hearers", inquirers" of the *hnrt n sdm*, a subsection of the *hnrt wr*.

The non-*hbs* type of documents in the present section are under the seal of the hearers when they are taken to the vizier. This suggests that they have knowledge of their contents and are responsible for them. It would seem warranted to regard the "hearers" (of the *hnrt n sdm*) as inquirers into departmental matters working on behalf of the central government, *in casu* the vizier. Their findings were put in writing and sealed with their seal³⁹. For evaluation and assessment these (provisional) records were taken to the vizier by the departmental officials involved. The *šfd* on the existing records of that department (drawn up in the *hnrt wr*, cf. above p. 139) accompanied the document of the *sdmw*. The vizier then surveyed all available information and closed the matter. Taking this view, the *sdmw* are considered officials of the *hnrt n sdm* of the *hnrt wr* (a viziral subdepartment, cf. above p. 135ff.), acting as functionaries "hearing" i.e. inquiring the workings and activities of the various offices of the central government: a type of internal, bureaucratic control system.

The non-*hbs* type of documents are also provided with the seal of *sšw irw m-s3.sn*. These *sšw* can also fit into the framework of the *hnrt wr* and *hnrt n sdm* if we consider the title an abbreviated form of *sš n hnrt wr / sš n hnrt n sdm*, two well-attested titles⁴⁰. 'Irw then pertains to the documents (as in *iryw irw*). For the compound preposition *m-s3* we propose in the present context the derived meaning: "in the care of...; responsible for...; in charge of...", discussed by Malaise⁴¹. The phrase amounts to "the scribes of the

37 Cf. Hayes, PLMK, 38; *Verwaltung*, 74; Andreu, BIFAO 80 (1980), 146. We do not follow Hayes' contention (following Griffith's translation "prison of trial" in P. Kahun 34, 31), that this department is concerned with criminal hearings only. On the basis of the known sources (mainly titles, see the cited lit.), the best we can say is that the *hnrt n sdm*, was concerned with "investigations" (as in Helck's rendering "Untersuchungsgefängnis").

38 *Verwaltung*, 74; Andreu, BIFAO 80 (1980), 145-7; Franke, GM 53 (1982), 18-21; id., GM 54 (1982), 51-12. Franke seems to connect the title with the *h3 n dd-rmt* (on this institution, see above note 5). It must be conceded that their precise activities are otherwise obscure to date.

39 Franke points out (GM 53 (1982), 15-21) that the MK title *sdm šn'*, "hearer of labourers" (related to *sdm rmt*, see last note) is often preceded by the title *imy-r htm*, suggesting that they were in charge of an official seal. It is just possible, therefore, that *sdmw* carried seals *ex officio*, cf. o.c., p. 20.

40 Cf. Hayes, PLMK, 38-40; *Verwaltung*, 74.

41 Malaise, GM 10 (1974), 29-30 with n. 5 (with further ref.).

documents who are responsible for them".

Two official seals are applied to a non-*hbs* document: the seal of the *sḏm* who "heard" the departmental matter, and the seal of the scribe who drew up the document. Both are officials of the *hnrt wr*, or its subsection the *hnrt n sḏm*. Both work on behalf of the vizier. They render it possible that the vizier can control the departments on the central level of government, in carrying out the actual investigation.

6. *pg3* - The verb *pg3*, "to open" ⁴² is provided with the curious determinative , Signlist D 32 (usual form ). The same sign is used in the comparable context of the Inscription of Mes, N 13 ⁴³. It is reminiscent of the NK hieratic sign ⁴⁴. For *pg3* with reference to *sšw*, see e.g., Merikare P 35-36: *mk mdwt.sn mn m sšw, pg3*, "See, their words endure in writings, open (them)!" ⁴⁵.
7. *hr-ir-m-ht ... htm n t3ty* - For the conjunction *hr-ir-m-ht*, see above p. 73. *M33* is clearly used here in the sense of "to inspect" ⁴⁶. After inspection the document will be brought to *st.f*, "its proper place" ⁴⁷, which can only denote the archive to which it will belong in future ⁴⁸. We surmise this to be the archive of the *hnrt wr* (as in section 6) ⁴⁹. The status of the document is now described as "sealed with the seal of the vizier" ⁵⁰, indicating that the vizier has inspected, finalised and authorised its contents. It may now be considered *hbs*, "covered (i.e. signed and sealed)".
8. *ir grt dbh.f sšw* - We note the extremely short writing of *dbh* which is rather rare ⁵¹. The verb, lit. "to ask for", can cover a whole range of meanings from "to beg" to "to demand, to request"

⁴² Wb I, 562,1.

⁴³ Gardiner, *Mes*, 46 (marked with "sic"); Gaballa, *Mose*, Pl. LX. The sign is not given by DLE I, 184.

⁴⁴ Cf. Möller, *Pal. II*, 10 (110).

⁴⁵ Volten, *Pol. Schriften*, 14; cf. Gardiner, *Mes*, 19 (41).

⁴⁶ Wb II, 8,13-8; FCD, 100; Corteggiani, in: *Hom. Sauneron I*, 134 (a).

⁴⁷ Variant of the well-known *st iry*, "its right/proper place", cf. Blumenthal, *Unters.*, 153 (1.16); 405 (8.47).

⁴⁸ LÄ I, 422 with note 1. In this respect, note the NK term *st sšw*, "place of writings" (Meeks, *Edfou*, 57-8 (27)) and the title *sš n t3 st sš*, "scribe of the place of writing" (Quaegebeur, OLA 6 (1979), 721).

⁴⁹ The archive of the department itself seems improbable in view of the vetitive in R17. Because it is nowhere mentioned or referred to in sections 6-7, the vizier's archive is also unlikely.

⁵⁰ For specimens of viziral seals, cf. e.g., Martin, *Seals*, 142-3 (nos. 1845-49); cf. Schott, WZKM, 54 (1957), 181. Helck's deductions from the present passage (LÄ I, 124) go astray, because of his interpretation of the first sentence of section 8 (see below p. 147ff.).

⁵¹ Espec. when used from the verb, compare Wb V, 439-42.

52. We feel that the more forceful "to request" suits the context best. An interesting feature is the "alphabetic" writing of *sšw* 53. Together with the peculiar writing of *dbḥ* it amounts to a conscious attempt to imitate OK writing habits 54.

9. *m rdi(w)...iryw irw* - We note that in conjunction with a viziral request for *hbs*-documents only "their officials involved" are mentioned. No reference is made to the *šfdw*-registers. The documents are apparently no longer under the seal of *sdmw* and *sšw*. We take this to indicate that *hbs*-documents have been dealt with by the vizier in the past according to the given procedure. Their contents have been "closed, finalised" and they have been filed in the "great prison".

From the present section it appears that there existed a permanent "surveillance" system run by the *hnrt wr* - as a *viziral subdepartment* - of the various departments of the central government (*h3w*). The "great prison" - in section 6 an instrument of viziral control over the civil service - in section 7 appears to operate as an intermediary body between vizier and *h3w* with delegated powers to inquire the latter's activities. Apparently, on the central level of government the vizier confines himself to an indirect type of control which allows him a final check through the inspection of written information compiled by the "great prison". Further comments are found in chapter 3.2.2; 3.4 and 4.6.3.

An interesting point is that one gains the impression that the viziral control post-dates the relevant activity of the department. When our reconstruction is correct this would indicate that the various departments (*h3*) operate in a relatively autonomous manner. They are checked in their activities only to the extent that they are accountable to the vizier in *post factum* inquiries by the *hnrt wr* (i.e. the *hnrt n sdm*). In addition, we may deduce from the present section that the vizier's knowledge of what goes on officially in the central departments rests primarily on written information passed on to him upon request and not on e.g., verbal reports by officials or viziral messengers. Provisional documents on central departments become finalised and filed by means of strict, institutionalised procedures. Filed documents are a factor in the decision-making process by the vizier.

All in all, the section appears to provide us with a lot of information on the desire for efficiency in and viziral control over the central departmental system. What remains unclear is the nature of the activities investigated and entered on the non-*hbs*-documents. It would be in line with the tenor of the text to assume that all proper

52 Cf. Blok, *P. Harris 500 vo.*, 70-1; Lorton, JT, 144-7; Goedicke, *Neferyt*, 101; CLEM, 8-9.
53 Compare Wb III, 475-6. Already noted for writings of *hpr* in our text, cf. p. 75. The writing recurs in R26-R27.
54 Cf. Van den Boorn, Date, 377.

activities are covered. A detailed list would indeed be highly peculiar in *The Duties*! Again we are confronted with the text's tendency to focus in on the central place occupied by the vizier at the top of the administration. It leaves out issues and details that fall outside the scope of that perspective. Those issues and details we would perhaps value most.

We are aware of the unconventional and perhaps hypothetical nature of the presented reconstruction. Still, we believe this to be the only plausible, logical and consistent explanation. The greatest obstacle to our argument is the near silence on the part of the MK and early NK source material. Those few scraps of information that have been recovered would seem to fit the detailed insight provided by *The Duties*.

SECTION 8 R17 – R19

Pl. 2; 5

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|-----|---|--|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVII, 17–19; CXX, 17–19
Urk IV, 1110,7 – 1111,2 | |
| II | B, 276–7
F, 941–3
D, 91–2
S, 113 | H, 34
J, 64–5
L, 438 |
| III | Gardiner, <i>Mes</i> , 37–8
GEG, 362–3
Valloggia, <i>Messagers</i> , 96–7
Allam, in: <i>St. Westendorf</i> , 449–50
Tanner, <i>Klio</i> 46 (1965), 51
Lorton, <i>VA</i> 2 (1986), 56 | R17–R19
R17–R19
R17
R19
R19
R19 |

TRANSLITERATION

- R17 *ir g(r)t wpwty nb h(3)b t3ty r.f hr sprty nb, iw a) dī.f šm n.f b); ir grt sprt(y)f(y) nb n t3ty hr 3hwt, wđ.f sw n.f, m-h3w sđm n*
- R18 *imy-r 'hwt hn' d3d3t nt tm3; irr.f wđf r.f hr 3bd 2 n 3hwt.f m šm' t3-mhwt; ir swt 3hwt.f nty tkn n nīwt rst [n hnw] , ir.f c) wđf r.f hr hrw 3 m*
- R19 *ntt r hp; sđmt.f d) sprty nb hft hp pn nty m-' .f.*

VARIANTS

- A15 has *im* instead of *iw* in R17. The correct interpretation is a matter of discussion. See the commentary below, p. 149ff.
- R17 continues with *dī.f šm n.f*, whereas A15 has a shorter version: *šm.f n.f*; see below p. 150.
- R18 here has *ir.f*, while both A16 and W15 give *irr.f*. We notice that in the preceding clause R18 has *irr.f* (cf. GEG, 362 n. 2).
- The form *sđmt.f* in R19 is clearly an error for *sđm.f* as given by A16 (cf. GEG, 362 n. 3).

TRANSLATION

- R17 As for any messenger whom the vizier sends for concerning any petitioner ¹, he (the vizier) will let him (the messenger) go to him (the petitioner) ². However, as for anyone who shall make a petition to the vizier concerning fields ³, it is to him(self, the vizier) that he orders (summons) him ⁴, in addition to consulting (lit. the hearing of) ⁵
- R18 the overseer of fields ⁶ and the council of the mat ⁷. He will allow him (lit. make to him) a delay ⁸ of two months ⁹ for his fields in Upper and Lower Egypt. But as for his fields that border on the Southern City (and) the Residence ¹⁰, he allows him (lit. makes to him) a delay of (only) three days ¹¹, as
- R19 according to the law ¹². He hears every petitioner according to the (lit. this) law which is in his hand (i.e. whose enforcement he is charged with) ¹³.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

R17: *ir g(r)t... šm n.f* - A problem we have to deal with first is to determine to which section this sentence belongs. Virtually all translators have tied it to section 7 ¹. We may list a number of arguments that militate against such an assumption.

- We already pointed out the resemblance in phrasing between the present sentence and the opening line of section 7 (cf. p. 134). This suggests that the former initiates a section rather than terminates one. It may be noticed that the comparable clause *ir wpwty nb h(3)bw t3ty...* (R9-R10) introduced section 5. The omission of the subject in *dl.f šm(f) n.f* has parallels in the first sentences of sections 6 and 7 (p. 139). In view of all this, the particle *grt* appears to mark the introduction of a new theme rather than a different approach to the same one.
- The new theme is the *sprty*, "petitioner". While absent from section 7, he plays a major role in section 8.
- In R18-R19 it is stated that the petitioner's requests are dealt with as prescribed by the law. In a more elaborate way, the "Installation"-text of Rekhmire says: *mk iw sprw n šm' t3-mhw n t3 r-dr.f 'pr [r] sdm m h3 [n t3ty], ih m33 n.k irt ht nbt ml ntt r hp*, "See, there come petitioner(s) of Upper and Lower Egypt, of the entire land, equipped for the hearing in the vizier's hall. Therefore, you shall see that everything is done in accordance with

¹ Viz., F, D, S, H, J, L, Valloggia (see section-heading). Breasted interprets the sentence as independent of both sections (his § 685). Only Gardiner, *Mes*, 37 connects it with section 8.

what is in the law" ². The resemblance with the present section is surely not a coincidence. This would suggest that the theme of the *sprty* has to be treated as a unity in our text.

- Finally, we may point out that the renderings of the scholars who connect the sentence with section 7 are rather obscure and - in our view - fail to make sense. On the other hand, a connection with section 8 can result in a meaningful interpretation.
- For an additional argument, see the first entry of the Commentary below.

COMMENTARY

1. *ir g(r)t wpwty.....sprty nb* - For the peculiar form *g(r)t*, see p. 55. We take the structure of the clause to be: *ir* + object in anticipatory emphasis/relative form of *h3b* construed with *r* + resumptive pronoun/adverbial phrase introduced by the preposition *hr* ³. Apparently, the vizier sends for a messenger "concerning any petitioner" in order to attend to him and his requests ⁴. The notion of attendance to petitioners becomes clear when we contrast this clause with the next one (see below).
The addition of *nb* to *wpwty* as well as to *sprty* generalizes the purport of the statement. This can be paraphrased as: "As for any messenger that the vizier sends for in the matter of any (type of) petitioner (with any type of request)..." As we will see below, this generalization serves a clear purpose: in the case of "any petitioner" the vizier will leave the attendance to his messenger ⁵; however, in the case of "anyone who will petition to the vizier concerning fields", he takes a personal interest and summons the man into his own presence. In the sentence under discussion the general rule pertaining to all types of petitioners is formulated. It is followed by the description of the special case of a petitioner to the vizier concerning fields, which apparently entails a special procedure. It may be clear that the intricate formulation of the present clause is the result of a conscious effort on the part of the author. In

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- 2 Davies, Pl. CXVI, 4-5. Restorations and translation after Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 22; 24.
 - 3 We note the repetition of the prep. *hr* in this section: *hr sprty nb*, *hr 3hwt*, *hr 3bd 2*, *hr hrw 3*. *R.f* occurs three times.
 - 4 *hr*, in the meaning of "concerning the matter of". Compare the well-known *h3b hr*, "to send a letter concerning". We note the configuration *h3b + r + hr*, two idiomatic associations of a verb used in one and the same phrase (also occurring in our restored version of the beginning of section 7).
 - 5 Seemingly this statement is contradicted by the last sentence of the present section. However, we feel that the latter relates primarily to the case of a petition concerning fields. Moreover, the final sentence has a definite "ethical" flavour (cf. p. 166ff.) and may be considered a type of general epilogue to section 8 and Part 2, formulating a general exhortation rather than a specific provision.

putting *wpwty nb* in anticipatory emphasis instead of *sprty nb*, he provides himself with the opportunity of creating a main clause, *iw dī.f šm n.f*, which resembles its counterpart in the next sentence, *wđ.f sw n.f*, in that it is both short and only uses pronouns ⁶. At the same time, the *dativus* in the former indicates the exact opposite of the latter: in the former *n.f* denotes the petitioner, in the latter the vizier ⁷. The studied style of the present sentence appears to have been inspired, therefore, by the wish to mark the contrast between its general prescription and the special case of the next sentence in a coherent and concise way, retaining at the same time a resemblance in formal appearance. Their contrasting relationship betrays definite literary considerations on the part of the author.

A graphic arrangement of the 1st part of section 8 may illustrate our argument.

<i>ir g(r)t</i>	<i>ir grt</i>	- introd. marker
<i>wpwty nb</i>	<i>sprtyfy nb</i>	- object in antic. emph.
<i>h(3)b t3ty r.f</i>	<i>n t3ty</i>	- vizier as key-figure
<i>hr sprty nb</i>	<i>hr 3hwt</i>	- matter concerned
<i>iw dī.f</i>	<i>wđ.f</i>	- main verb + subject
<i>sm(.f)</i>	<i>sw</i>	- /object
<i>n.f</i>	<i>n.f</i>	- adv. phrase indicating direction of movement and target
	<i>m-h3w sdm n...</i>	- continuation in 2nd sentence
	↓	
	etc.	

Fig. 9

The structure of the 1st part of section 8 (R17).

The contrasting relationship between the two sentences, as evinced by their stylistic resemblance, proves definitely that the first sentence has to be considered part of section 8. As will be indicated below (p. 162), other parts of the present section have acquired a stylized arrangement too.

2. *iw dī.f šm n.f* - In R17 this clause differs considerably from the text as given by A15: *im šm.f n.f*. Especially *im* is disturbing. A number of observations can be made.

⁶ Actually, it seems to be the only way to unite into one sentence, in a comprehensible and concise way, the three themes: any messenger; the vizier sending for a messenger; the vizier sending the latter to the petitioner.

⁷ The inversion of *sw* and *n.f* was also inspired by a wish to create a resemblance with the 1st main clause - in addition to emphatic considerations, see below p. 152.

- The group *iw dī.f šm n.f* of R17 makes perfect sense when interpreted as an *iw sdm.f* ⁸, followed by *šm* as a *sdm.f* with ellipse of the suffix *.f* (as in the first main clauses of sections 6-7, cf. p. 139) ⁹.
- The writing *im* in A15 cannot be considered a misinterpretation of a hieratic "Vorlage" containing *iw* (or vice versa) in view of the distinct hieratic writings of *iw* and *im* ¹⁰.
- A15 gives *im* as , which could be taken as the adverb *im* attached to a preceding noun (Wb I, 72). This option is apparently favoured by Helck (*Verwaltung*, 42), who suggests that A emended the R-text intentionally in order to explain the inexplicable (!) R-version ¹¹. However, we feel that *im* in A15 creates far more problems than *iw* in R17.
- It seems impossible to consider *im* an abbreviated form of the imperative *imy* (GEG, § 336), because of an absolute lack of parallels.

Whatever induced A to write *im šm.f n.f* will have to remain a mystery. The clause as given by R17 makes perfect sense, especially when considered in conjunction with our remarks in the previous entry. Therefore, we adhere to the R-version.

The phrase *iw dī.f šm n.f* is rendered as: "he (the vizier) will see that (he) (messenger) goes to him (the petitioner)". Apparently, whenever the vizier has to deal with a petitioner he will send for a messenger and he will see that the latter goes to the petitioner to attend to his petition. In this respect, the messenger serves as a personal agent acting on behalf of the vizier ¹². However, more information may be gathered from the present statement.

We notice that we are dealing here with a procedure concerning any petitioner (*hr sprty nb*). In the next sentence the *sprtyf nb n t3ty hr 3hwt* is presented, "anyone who will petition to the vizier concerning fields" (note the *sdmtyf*-form!). In the first case the vizier's messenger is charged with the proper attendance, in the second one the vizier will take charge personally.

Seemingly, this procedure is contradicted by the information of a contemporary and related text, i.e. the "Installation" of Rekhmire

8 Durative in meaning and constructed with a perfective *dī.f*, cf. GEG, § 462.

9 The form *šm* cannot be an infinitive since the 2-lit. verb *šm* (originally a 3ae inf.) takes a feminine inf. cf. GEG, § 299.

10 Cf. Möller, *Pal. I*, nos. 196, 200, 200B, LXVI-II; id., *Pal. II*, nos. 196, 200, 200B, LXI.

11 In rendering *sprty nb im* approximately as "any petitioner there (from)", Helck connects the sentence with section 7 and reaches a surprisingly free translation (*Verwaltung*, 34).

12 See above p. 110; 128 on the position of messengers.

13. There the vizier is instructed time and again to take personal care of the "petitioner (to the vizier)" and to do justice to his requests. No mention is made of a messenger. The contradiction vanishes when in The Duties the following points are taken into consideration.

- 1) In the first case the messenger acts on behalf of the vizier. Ultimately, therefore, the vizier will be informed of the petitioner's request. The messenger cannot take independent final action. Either he is instructed by the vizier on the course of action to be taken, or he passes the matter on to the vizier personally. The vizier remains responsible ultimately; the messenger's sole function is to relieve the vizier initially of the usual work involved in a petition. He is the vizier's delegate mediating between his superior and the petitioner.
- 2) In proceeding from the first to the second case the text clearly proceeds from a general to a specific theme. It is on the latter that the text focuses in the lines that follow. The contrast between the two is marked, at the same time, in that the following elaborations are anticipated in the phrasing of the introduction to the second case: *ir grt sprt(y)f(y) nb n t3ty hr 3hwt*. The petitioner's case that follows is of a special category because of its subject-matter: *3hwt*. Here the vizier will have to follow a stipulation of the law (and not apply or interpret the law as a judge; see below): evidently a specific case that calls for the personal attention of the vizier.

It transpires that the information supplied by The Duties is far more detailed than that of the Installation, creating an apparent but not a fundamental contradiction.

3. *ir grt sprt(y)f(y) nb n t3ty hr 3hwt* - We note the futural *sprtyfy* as compared with *sprty* in the previous sentence. Apparently, the *sqdmtfy* has been used to create a contrast and at the same time to introduce the theme of the following lines, viz. the petitioner concerning fields. The unspecific nature of the noun *3ht* renders it difficult to trace the purport of the petition at this stage. The term is generally rendered "field, piece of arable land, holding"¹⁴. It can be institutional¹⁵

¹³ Davies, Pl. CXVI-III; Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 18-29. We note that the text has copies in the tombs of User (TT 131) and Hapu (TT 66). In the 18th dyn. it has a tradition comparable to The Duties. Cf. chapter 4.6.7. and 4.7.

¹⁴ FCD, 4; Gardiner, RdE 6 (1951), 119-20 (h).

¹⁵ E.g., Kessler, SAK 10 (1983), 217-9.

or private property ¹⁶, it can be cultivated ¹⁷, it can produce a harvest subject to impositions ¹⁸. *3ḥt* simply means a cultivated or arable holding without reference to status, management, property rights, quality etc. Therefore, insight into the tenor of the petitioner's request must be gained from a study of the two official branches to be consulted (R18) and the two possible locations of the fields in Egypt (R18). Here only the subject is pinpointed, "fields". For *spri n X ḥr 3ḥwt*, see also below p. 166 (text of Sobek-nakht).

4. *wḏ.f sw n.f* - Obviously, the structure of this clause deviates from the standard grammatical rule that a pronominal "dativus" precedes a pronominal object. Gardiner translated correctly but did not venture an explanation beyond: "the pregnant and special meaning of the dative is clearly the cause of the inversion" ¹⁹. In our reconstruction of the first part of section 8 (p. 149 fig. 9) the explanation offers itself.
 - 1) The structure of this clause exactly matches its counterpart in the previous sentence. Both end with an adverbial phrase indicating the movement of the object (its target). Considerations of style and patterning appear to play a role in the inversion.
 - 2) Application of the structural model of the first main clause (*iḥw ḏi.f šm(.f) n.f*) to the second one provides the author with the additional possibility of emphasizing the adverbial phrase at the end in the clause *wḏ.f sw n.f*, according to Polotsky's theory. In this way, he can stress the fact that *n.f* in the 1st sentence denotes the exact opposite of *n.f* in the 2nd: in the 1st the *wpwty* of the vizier goes to the petitioner, in the 2nd the petitioner has to come to the vizier. To mark the contrast the author reverses the usual order and creates an "emphatic inversion".

All in all we are dealing here with a splendid illustration of the studied style and literary inclination of our text. Considerations of contents and style come together and produce an concise, consistent and stylized statement.

5. *m-ḥ3w sdm n* - For *m-ḥ3w*, see above p. 118. For *sdm + n*, see above p. 25 (4). Its meaning can range from "to listen to" to "to

¹⁶ Esp. *3ḥt nmhyw*, P. Valencay 1 vo., 2-4 (RAD, 73, 1ff.), cf. Helck, *Mat. II*, 237; Janssen, SAK 3 (1975), 149; *Wilbour II*, 205ff.; Gardiner, RdE 6 (1951), 115ff.; Menu, *Régime*, 133; Meeks, *Donations*, 613 n. 24; Helck, ZÄS 80 (1955), 130 with n. 6. See in particular Stuchevsky's recent study, cf. review-article by Janssen in BiOr 43 no. 3/4 (1986), 351ff.

¹⁷ E.g., P. Leiden I 370 vo., 9 (LRL, 11,3; WLRL, 28).

¹⁸ E.g., P. Anast. V, 27,4 (LEM, 72,1; CLEM, 273).

¹⁹ GEG, § 507, 4; *ibid.*, p. 362; *Verwaltung*, 34. We may notice that *wḏ* is written with Signlist V 25 *ḏ* instead of V 24 *ḏ*. Other instances in our text: *wḏt*, R28; *wḏyt*, R22. V 25 is the usual form in the 18th dyn.

obey". In the present context we prefer a meaning "to consult" (i.e. "to ask for professional advice").

6. *imy-r 'hwt* - The second element of the title is written with the net-hieroglyph Signlist T24. Therefore, the title has to be transliterated as *imy-r 'hwt* (or *ihwt*). The exact ramifications of the term *'ht* remain a matter of discussion to date. Helck rendered it "Domäne" ohne genauere Unterschiede" ²⁰. Menu proposed "ce qui est entouré, terre cultivée" ²¹. Gardiner's first suggestion was "farm land" ²², but he later on modified this to "land directly leased from someone" ²³. Janssen considered it a technical term with some unknown legal meaning ²⁴. Recently, Vleeming has returned to Menu's proposal "delineated piece of land, parcel, plot" ²⁵ in the neutral sense of a "demarcated piece of land" without further distinctions. The same view was held by Berlev when he rendered *3ht*, "field" - *'ht*, "plot" ²⁶. The point is to decide whether *'ht* conveys some legal distinction or whether it gives a specification of the general term *3ht*, "field", as "plot, parcel". The discussion centres around a number of texts, e.g.:

- 1) Urk IV, 667, 10 : *ist ir(w) n3 n 3hwt m 'hwt*, "Then the fields were made into 'hwt".
- 2) Urk IV, 172, 1-2 : *iw grt rdi.n hm.i 3hwt stt 1800 r 'hwt nt htp-ntr*, "Then My Majesty added 1800 arouras of fields to the 'hwt of the *htp-ntr*" ²⁷.
- 3) Urk IV, 746, 1-3 : *iw hnb.n hm(.i) 3hwt hntw-s hbsw 'š3w m stp n šm' t3-mhw r irt 'hwt r hrp ššrw r.....*, "Then (My) Majesty conveyed (?) to him fields, gardens, numerous *hbsw*-fields from the choice of Upper and Lower Egypt, in order to construct (i.e. lay out) 'hwt to provide corn for...".
- 4) Urk IV, 1379, 15-7 : *dhn.kwi r imy-r gs-pr r hrp nrt mnmn 3hwt hntw-s nhbw m 'hwt*, "I was appointed overseer of the *gs-pr* ²⁸ in order to administer the *nrt*-people, the cattle, the

²⁰ *Mat. II*, 240.

²¹ *Régime*, 65-6 with n. 3; 76 n. 126.

²² *JEA* 27 (1941), 52ff.

²³ Unpublished; given by Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 141 n. 54.

²⁴ *SAK* 3 (1975), 141.

²⁵ *P. Reinhardt*, 71-2; cf. note 21 above.

²⁶ As given from Russian by Spalinger, *JAOS* 105 (1985), 8 n. 4.

²⁷ For *htp-ntr*, see below p. 272.

²⁸ For *gs-pr*, see below p. 285.

fields, the gardens provided with (i.e. divided into) ²⁹ 'hwt'.

- the phrase *nḥbw m 'hwt* has interesting parallels:

Merikare P 86 : *nḥbw m 'hwt*, "(free men) being provided with 'hwt" ³⁰.

Urk IV, 28, 7 : *nḥbw m 3ḥwt*, "(a monument) provided with fields" ³¹.

Speos Artemidos/
Sethi I : *nḥbw m rmt*, "(fields and gardens) provided with people" ³².

5) Aniba/Donation

Text of Penne : *3ḥwt 'hwt*, "Fields, 'hwt" ³³.

Texts 1-4 date to the 18th dyn.; text 5 dates to the reign of Ramses VI.

In our view it is perfectly clear that in the 18th dyn. 'ht is a specific and neutral term meaning "demarcated piece of cultivated land, plot", as compared with the general term 3ḥt, "field". As already pointed out by Menu, Vleeming and Berlev it indicates that a field is delineated, that it is demarcated. Such notion seems to be lacking in 3ḥt ³⁴. Whether the term later on acquired some legal meaning (ex. text 5?) falls outside the scope of the present study ³⁵.

It seems feasible, therefore, to assume that 3ḥt and 'ht are closely related terms in the 18th dyn., only differing in the notion of demarcation conveyed by 'ht.

The only common "title" derived from 'ht is 'hwtj (or iḥwtj), "(rural)

²⁹ For the curious verb *nḥb*, cf. FCD, 136; DLE II, 26; Fairman-Grdseloff, JEA 33 (1947), 23 n. b; Blackman, JEA 19 (1933), 202; Gardiner, RdE 10 (1955), 14 n. 3; id., JEA 36 (1950), 7 n. 2; Clère, in: *Misc. Greg.*, 463. Its original meaning is "to harness, to yoke". Hence a wide variety of derivations, e.g., "to assign, to appoint, to link, to combine, to requisition, to provide".

³⁰ Cf. Volten, *Pol. Schriften*, 44 = HBT, 51. Translation after AEL I, 103.

³¹ Compare Urk IV, 172, 4-5.

³² Fairman-Grdseloff, JEA 33 (1947), Pl. VII col. 10 (= col. 12); p. 23 with n. b.

³³ G. Steindorff, *Aniba II*, Glückstadt 1937, Pl. 101; p. 243 (a); cf. Janssen, SAK 3 (1975), 141; Vleeming, *P. Reinhardt*, 72.

³⁴ Cf. above p. 151ff.

³⁵ The legal connotations of the term 'hwtj, as transpiring from the Ramesside material, cannot be used in the discussion on 'ht since they may very well constitute a later and/or independent development.

agent of the fisc", "cultivator", and "private possessor on state-owned land" ³⁶.

The title *imy-r 'hwt*, as given by R18, is extremely rare. Taking into consideration the remarks made above we may now turn to a brief analysis of the title. As far as we know, its occurrences are restricted to the 18th dyn.

- 1) The two introductory legends to the two divisions of Rekhmire's "Tribute"-list are phrased in the same wording ³⁷. Side by side we find:

Urk IV, 1120, 2 : *sšw 'hwt*

Urk IV, 1129, 2 : *sšw 3hwt*.

From the context it is evident that the same officials are meant in both instances.

- 2) Senmut is:

Urk IV, 405, 13 : *imy-r 'hwt n 'Imn*

Urk IV, 414, 7 : *imy-r 'hwt n 'Imn*

Urk IV, 411, 13 : *imy-r 'hwt n 'Imn*

Urk IV, 407, 15 : *imy-r 3hwt n 'Imn*

Urk IV, 403, 1 : *imy-r 3hwt n 'Imn*

It is evident that one and the same office is indicated ³⁸.

- 3) Senneferi is:

Urk IV, 531, 5 : *imy-r 'hwt n 'Imn*.

Our conclusion must be, therefore, that *imy-r 'hwt/sš 'hwt* are rare variant writings of the common *imy-r 3hwt/sš 3hwt*, typical of the early 18th dyn. ³⁹. This long digression has served to demonstrate that the *imy-r 'hwt* of R19 may safely be interpreted in terms of the common *imy-r 3ht* ⁴⁰.

As so often, our information on the nature and the range of his tasks is scarce and fragmentary. For instance, he seems to have been concerned with the inspection of cattle and labourers ⁴¹, but no coherent picture emerges. In the analysis below we will concentrate - by way of example - on a task concerning which more information is available. However, we have to bear in mind that this was only

³⁶ Cf. Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 21-2; Edgerton, JNES 6 (1947), 222 n. 20; Helck, *Mat. II*, 250ff.; Menu, *Régime*, 76 n. 126; 139ff.; Janssen, SAK 3 (1975), 141; Vleeming, *P. Reinhardt*, 84-5; Kruchten, DH, 94; 159 n. 536. The three meanings given here result from the recent analysis by I.A. Stuchevsky, see the review-article by Janssen in BiOr 43 no. 3/4 (1986), 351ff.

³⁷ See above, p. 103, texts 3.1 and 3.2.

³⁸ E.g., Urk IV, 522, 5; 1425, 19; 1415, 1. For the office, see also the forthcoming publication of E. Dziobek, *Das Grab des Ineni* (AVDAIK-Series). I thank E. Dziobek for his permission to read the ms.

³⁹ Already pointed out by Gardiner, *Wilbour II*, 162 n. 3.

⁴⁰ When *imy-r 'hwt* is typical of the early NK, its occurrence in The Duties may serve as a dating-criterion.

⁴¹ Cf. *Wilbour II*, 162 n. 3; Hayes, PLMK, 76.

one of his duties. The nature of our text demands that all of his duties would need to be taken into consideration. The results of our analysis must be generalized accordingly.

A most important task of this official appears to have been the surveying of lands in order to reestablish the boundaries of the individual plots of land after the inundation⁴². The basic importance of this work resides in the assessment of cadastral rights to landed property of institutions and individuals, entailing administrative rights to rent and taxes on the yield of the properties by the owning institutions concerned. The *imy-r 3hwt* was charged with the survey of state as well as temple-lands⁴³ in a specific urban area⁴⁴. Various sources outline the high-ranking position of this local official⁴⁵, as is also evident from the present section where he is summoned to the vizier to be consulted.

Proceeding from a wrong interpretation of the title in P. Boulaq 18⁴⁶ Helck postulated the existence of a "Grosser Feldervorsteher" as chief, co-ordinating overseer of fields in the MK⁴⁷. We feel that there is no evidence in support of this view. The so-called "office of fields" (*h3 n 3hwt*)⁴⁸ may be considered the bureau of the local or regional overseer of fields⁴⁹, not of a national official. Helck does seem to be right in observing the growing tendency (SIP-18th dyn.) of the office to become related to the office of mayor⁵⁰. The title occurs well into the NK⁵¹.

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- 42 Cf. Graefe, CdE XLVIII no. 95 (1975), 39; 44-6; Simpson, CdE XLVII no. 93-4 (1972), 48-9; Meeks, *Edfou*, 53 (3); *Wilbour II*, 162 n. 3; LÄ II, 154.
- 43 Nauri Decree II. 50-1 (KRI I, 54,1); Graefe, UG II, 15; *Verwaltung*, 112-4; 138-40; LÄ II, 154. For the MK Hayes notes his ties to *hbsw*-lands (PLMK, 40; 76; 85; 137; cf. Graefe, CdE XLVIII no. 95 (1975), 39 n. 2).
- 44 *Verwaltung*, 112-4; 138-9L LÄ II, 154; Andrews, JEA 64 (1978), 93; Ward, *Index*, 10; Hayes, PLMK, 76.
- 45 Cf. *Wilbour II*, 162-3; Hayes, PLMK, 76; Andrews, JEA 64 (1978), 93. In the P. Boulaq 18 (Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922), Pl. XVI,5 (= Pl. 4 * *)) he is mentioned among the highest officials of state. Above p. 136 we already noted his ties with vizier and *hnrt wr*.
- 46 See last note.
- 47 *Verwaltung*, 112-4.
- 48 Ibid., 112 n. 4; Hayes, PLMK, 137 n. 485; AL III, 4 (0036).
- 49 E.g., *imy-r 3hwt n niwt rst*; *imy-r 3hwt n ' rsy*, cf. Hayes, PLMK, 76; *Wilbour II*, 162-3; Ward, *Index*; *imy-r 3hwt pr- '3*, Brinks, GM 28 (1978), 26 (MK). See esp. P. Harageh 3, 14-5, cf. Smither, JEA 27 (1941), 75.
- 50 *Verwaltung*, 113-4; LÄ II, 154.
- 51 Cf. note 42 above; Graefe, UG II, 15; id., CdE XLVIII no. 95 (1975), 42-3; Hayes, *Ostraka*, 50 (78); Andrews, JEA 64 (1978), 93; *Wilbour II*, 162-3.

The actual field-work of the annual survey was carried out by his assistants, the *sš(w) n(w) 3hwt*, "scribe(s) of fields", apparently headed by the *sš n tm3*, "scribe of the mat" (see below). This is evidenced by the MK P. Harageh 3, a page from a "tax-assessors's journal" ⁵². P. Wilbour A records the results of the field-work of the surveyors ⁵³.

7. *d3d3t nt tm3* - As far as we know the term remains unparalleled. Accordingly, in order to reach some understanding of its meaning and background we have to split it up and analyse its constituent elements.

The noun *d3d3t* basically indicates a "collective of personnel", an "official group", i.e. a "council" or an "assembly". It occurs in contexts of various nature ⁵⁴. Some authors stress its juridical tasks as a "court" in the MK and NK ⁵⁵. However, nothing juridical emerges from the occurrences in The Duties.

- R20 - *t3 d3d3t smmnt st*, "the council who moved them (the boundaries)". Possibly, *d3d3t* is here an abbreviated form of the one under discussion, *d3d3t nt tm3* (cf. *Verwaltung*, 138); compare P. Brooklyn 35.1446, 31B (Hayes, PLMK, Pl. 3; p. 26; 29-30).
- below p. 191ff.
- R22/23 - *hn' d3d3t.sn*, "with their council (of officials)". *d3d3t* as a group of assistant officials.
- below p. 216.
- R24 - *d3d3t nt mš'*, "army staff"
- below p. 226.

One may compare the same general meaning in R3 of the "Installation"-text of Rekhmire: *mk tm w3h hr.f pw hr srw d3d3t*, "See, he is one who does not turn his face towards the officials or the assembly (of magistrates)" ⁵⁶. It is only in the typical form *d3d3t wrt* - possibly an archaizing denomination of the *knbt wrt* - in R29 and R31 that the term may possess a legal connotation ⁵⁷. For the time being, therefore, we assume *d3d3t* to be used in its basic and neutral sense of "council, assembly".

The second element *tm3* is a crux. The noun is beset with problems. Discussions on its origin(s), correct transliteration and meaning(s)

⁵² Smither, JEA 27 (1941), 74-8.

⁵³ LÄ II, 151; Janssen, SAK 3 (1975), 140. See also the remarks by Graefe, CdE XLVIII no. 95 (1975), 44-6; Helck, *Mat. II*, 298 ff.

⁵⁴ In religious, non-religious, administrative, executive and legal settings, but apparently always in the public sphere, cf. Wb V, 528 ff.; FCD, 319; AL I-III s.v.; Hayes, PLMK, 46. On its etymological background, cf. Van den Boorn, JNES 44 (1985), 13 n. 66.

⁵⁵ E.g., Hayes, PLMK, 45-6; 140; Lurje, SAR, 63ff.; von Beckerath, UGZZ, 206.

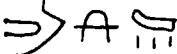
⁵⁶ Cf. Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 19; 22; 23 n. 8.

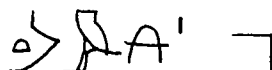
⁵⁷ See below p. 284; 286.

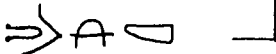
remain undecided to date and we do not claim to present the final solution either. It is clearly a term that asks for a separate study in its various aspects. Yet, the *tm3* in our case defines the group *d3d3t nt tm3*, so we must deal with it at some length.

To begin with, we hint at the problem of the correct transliteration from hieratic caused by the resemblance of the hieratic signs for *A* and *S* ⁵⁸. Today most scholars follow Gardiner's interpretation favouring *tm3/tm3* instead of *hsb* ⁵⁹.

Then there is the problem of the huge variety of writings of *tm3* in hieroglyphic as well as hieratic. In our text the term is written fairly consistently:

R18 

R26/W25 

A22 

- parallel-version

A cursory look through the dictionaries and the cited literature will indicate, however, that the only fairly fixed element is Signlist V19 *A*. This in turn has led to serious difficulties in tracing its origin and background.

In itself depicting a hobble for cattle ⁶⁰, *A* came to be used for unknown reasons as determinative or phonetic determinative in *tm3/tm3*, "mat" ⁶¹. This OK noun may have become "contaminated" by the (related?) OK noun *dm3*, "sack". The latter is determined by means of Signlist Aa6 *Δ* ⁶² which is also found determining *tm3/tm3*, "mat" ⁶³. One can easily imagine the transition *dm3* > *tm3*, "sack" ⁶⁴ that could have given rise to confusion with *tm3*, "mat". This would explain the use of Signlist Aa6 with *tm3*, "mat" ⁶⁵. In our view, this noun came to be used - from the MK onwards - in the only common title compounded with *tm3*, viz. *ss n tm3* ⁶⁵. What may have been the background of *tm3* in this title can only be guessed at when the latter's meaning and range are analysed.

⁵⁸ For various opinions, cf. Malinine, RdE 6 (1951), 164-5 n. 14; Leclant, *Enquêtes*, 10; Parker, *Or. Pap.*, 33; LEM, 17a (12a n. b); AEO I, 34-5 *: 91 *: Allam, HOPR, 89 n. 2; Eyre, in: *St. Fairman*, 82 n. (j); Vittmann, *Priester*, 10; 103 (having two different opinions!).

⁵⁹ LEM, 17a. See also P. Turin 2074, 2, 7/9 (KRI VI, 608-9) testifying to the reading *tm3/tm3* (dyn. 20)

⁶⁰ Signlist V19; cf. Aa6.

⁶¹ Wb V, 307, 2-12.

⁶² For *dm3*, cf. Posener-Kriéger, *Arch.*, 378 (r); Signlist Aa6.

⁶³ Cf. Posener-Kriéger, *Arch.*, 378 (r); *tm3*, "sack", cf. Wb V, 307, 15-7.

⁶⁴ To be sure, other variations in writing remain unexplained.

⁶⁵ Malinine's proposal *ss n dm'*, "scribe of documents" was rejected i.a. by Parker (ref. note 58).

The title *sš n tm3* is common to both MK and NK. In the MK he is clearly connected with agricultural affairs. From a condensed statement in the Admonitions we learn that he was charged with the administration of the storage of "the grain of Egypt" ⁶⁶. In the P. Harageh 3 he is involved in tax-assessments when carrying out the annual measurement of fields ⁶⁷. In the NK, on the other hand, he seems to occur principally in "juridical" contexts (but this may be accidental) ⁶⁸: he is particularly (but not exclusively) concerned with disputes about agricultural matters. Helck noted the change and rendered the title as "Kataster-schreiber" in a MK context and "Protokollschreiber" in the NK ⁶⁹. As far as we can see the dichotomy is quite definite: in the MK no *sš n tm3* is known to be concerned with legal proceedings, while in the NK no such official is found measuring the fields.

We return now for a moment to the evasive element *tm3*. Caminos proposed to consider *tm3* in *sš n tm3* the mat upon which the scribe was seated while performing his tasks as judiciary clerk ⁷⁰. This would seem unlikely when the contention that the MK title has no definite juridical setting holds true. Caminos' point may only explain the NK atmosphere of the title - as a NK reinterpretation of an older MK title in accordance with its functional "change" outlined above.

Tm3, "mat", may refer to the posture of the MK scribe in conducting his official duties when we deprive the scene of its juridical connotation ⁷¹.

The land-determinative , often accompanying *tm3* in *sš n tm3*, has enticed Gardiner more than once to consider it a specific type of

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- ⁶⁶ Admonitions 6, 9, cf. Faulkner, JEA 50 (1964), 31.
⁶⁷ Smither, JEA 27 (1941), 75 (l. 17); AEO I, 91*. The general background is provided by Graefe, CdE XLVIII no. 95 (1975), 44-6; Helck, *Mat. II*, 298ff.
⁶⁸ E.g., P. Berlin 3047, 7 (Helck, JARCE 2 (1963), 66); Mes, S8 (Gardiner, *Mes*, 52; KRI III, 432,12); P. Berlin 9785, 10 (Gardiner, ZÄS 43 (1906), 40); in a general way e.g., P. Anast. II, 8, 7 (LEM, 17, 12; CLEM, 56-7); in an agricultural setting e.g., Černý, *Community*, 218 n. 10. Cf. *Wilbour II*, 83; Gaballa, *Mose*, 27 n. 15; *Verwaltung*, 139-40 n. 7.
⁶⁹ *Verwaltung*, 62-4; 138-9; id., JARCE 2 (1963), 66 ("Registratur-schreiber").
⁷⁰ CLEM, 57; cf. Lurje, SAR 76 n. 20; compare Volten, *Pol. Schriften*, 14 (P33). In the religious sphere one notices that gods may sit on mats when judging, cf. Wb V, 307,7; S. Hassan, *Hymnes Religieuses du Moyen Empire*, Le Caire 1928, 40-4; Blackman-Fairman, JEA 30 (1944), 17 (34)e; J. Vandier, *Le Pap. Jumilhac*, Paris 1961, 198 n. 564; R. Grieshammer, *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten*, Wiesbaden 1970, 32-3; 35; cf. Urk IV, 2093, 11-5.
⁷¹ See the examples cited by Hassan, esp. p. 14 (d), ref. last note.

land ⁷². So he renders stela CCG 20491:

𐎠 𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎢𐎡𐎢 𐎢𐎡𐎢

- "overseer of *tm3*-lands
of the *w'rt* of the Head
of the South" ⁷³.

As appealing as this may seem, it is hardly a satisfying solution. It is difficult to see why a scribe concerned with the general task of measuring fields would have been attached to a particular type of land. Or, do we have to imagine that this official "created" mat-shaped plots of land out of the smooth stretches of land?

We do not know the answer. For the time being we adhere to our modified version of Caminos' suggestion and render *sš n tm3*, "scribe of the mat". We have rejected the common "scribe of the cadaster" ⁷⁴ because of its implications.

In R18 we encounter the hapax legomenon *d3d3t nt tm3*. In the light of the foregoing remarks we are tempted to consider it the collective of the *sšw nw tm3*, "the scribes of the mat" as a "branch of the administration". Its function would accord with that of an individual *sš n tm3*. However, in using a collective denomination the author focuses in on the tasks performed collectively - in an abstract and impersonal way -, rather than on the individual tasks of one official in particular. As will be seen below, the reason for using *d3d3t* is that in fact not one individual (group of) *sš(w) n (w) tm3* is referred to but several officials in different parts of Egypt. Quite deliberately, therefore, the author shifts the attention from individual officials to their collective tasks in order to convey his intentions as precisely as possible. What the author pinpoints in the neologism *d3d3t nt tm3* is, in paraphrasis: "all officials concerned with land-measurement, i.e. the *sšw nw tm3* and every official and clerk assisting them in the various areas of Egypt". The same function-orientated rather than functionary-orientated notion will be found in the use of *d3d3t* in R22-R23 ⁷⁵.

When there is no compelling reason for such a specific connotation we find the officials simply taken together as *sšw nw tm3* in R26 ⁷⁶. In R18 the author wants to stress, in concise terminology, that the collective of officials involved in land-measurement in a specific area will be consulted by the vizier.

⁷² Gardiner, *Mes*, 38 (translation of Duties R18); Signlist V19 and Aa9; id., JEA 43 (1957), 8 (wrongly quoted by *Verwaltung*, 139 n. 4); cf. id., *Admonitions*, 49.

⁷³ JEA 43 (1957), 8. Note that  is absent here!. Perhaps, this is what Davies and Hayes intended when they rendered *d3d3t nt tm3*, "council of sections" (PLMK, 30; 46).

⁷⁴ E.g., FCD, 299; Ward, *Index*, 167; *Verwaltung*, 139.

⁷⁵ Below p. 217. See also *d3d3t nt mš'*, R24 (p. 226).

⁷⁶ Below p. 267.

The MK P. Harageh 3 informs us about the members of this collective ⁷⁷:

- *sš n t̄m3*, "scribe of the mat" NN (additional "title" *iry hp*, "the one of the law")
- *sš 3ht* (2x), "scribe of fields" NN ⁷⁸
- *wpwty n imy-pr*, "messenger of the overseer of the estate" NN
- *dwn nwh*, "stretcher of the cord" NN ⁷⁹
- *šsp nwhw*, "holder of the cords" NN ⁷⁹.

It transpires from the order of the list (ll. 16-22) that the collective is headed by the *sš n t̄m3* ⁸⁰. It could have been labelled, therefore, a *d3d3t nt t̄m3*.

It seems appropriate to return to R18 of The Duties. When a man petitions to the vizier concerning fields (*3hwt*), he will be heard by him personally. In addition the vizier will consult the overseer of fields and the council of the mat. As we have seen, the latter two are concerned with landmeasuring etc. The *imy-r 'hwt* appears to have been the chief official in charge ⁸¹, while the actual work seems to have been done by the *sš n t̄m3* and his colleagues, i.e. the *d3d3t nt t̄m3*. The hierarchical order and their joint operation are again illustrated in the P. Harageh 3 ⁸².

The petition must have something to do, therefore, with land-measuring, the ensuing tax-assessment or - bearing in mind the remark made above - some other, less known aspect of their respective tasks. More about the petition's nature can be learned from what follows in R8.

8. *irr.f wdf r.f* - *Wdf* (*wdf*) is usually rendered "delay" ⁸³ and quite often conveys the connotation of a delay in the execution of certain acts or the application of certain enactments ⁸⁴. The Wb lists *wdf* +

⁷⁷ Smither, JEA 27 (1941), 74-8. For a comparable text, though without officials, cf. P. Kahun III, 1, A vo. (P. Kahun, Pl. 23, 12-22).

⁷⁸ Helck considers the *sš 3hwt* identical with the *sš n w* (above p. 102 (e); *Verwaltung*, 113). On the subject, see below p. 178.

⁷⁹ Cf. Smither, JEA 27 (1941), 76; LÄ II, 150-1. For the cord(s), see Graefe, CdE XLVIII no. 95 (1975), 36-46. The latter two officials seem to be assistants.

⁸⁰ Cf. *Verwaltung*, 139; LÄ II, 150-1.

⁸¹ Cf. Graefe, CdE XLVIII no. 95 (1975), 39 n. 2; id., UG II, 15.

⁸² Smither, JEA 27 (1941), 75 (ll. 15-22); Pl. IX-X; see also stela Leiden V3 referred to by Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 49.

⁸³ Wb I, 388-9; FCD, 73; DLE I, 136.

⁸⁴ E.g., Stèle Juridique l. 11 (Lacau, *St. Jur.*, 21; Helck, HBT, 66); stela Cairo CCG 34016 (= Urk IV, 1070, 6; cf. Lacau, op. cit., 21; Spalinger, in: *St. Westendorf*, 643 with n. 45); P. Bologna 1094, 1,8 (LEM, 2,2; CLEM, 7); cf. Gardiner, *Mes*, 38 n. 3.

r as an idiomatic compound, though citing only the present passage 85. It may be better to consider *r.f* here one of those rare instances where *r* means "to, with regard to (persons)" 86. The actual nature of the delay/postponement will be discussed below. Here we notice the stylization of this part of section 8 (fig. 10).

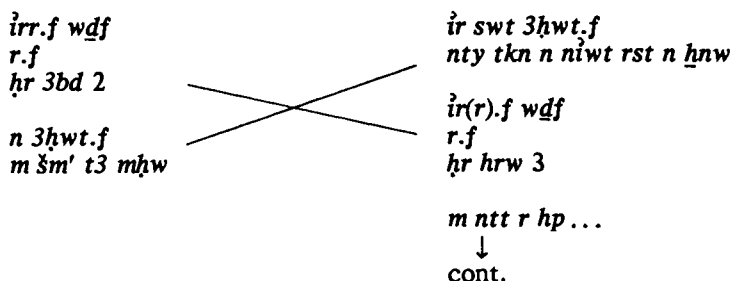


Fig. 10

The structure of the 2nd part of section 8, R18-R19.

When we combine fig. 9 (p. 149) and fig. 10, we discover the patterning of section 8. It consists of two parts. In the first (= fig. 9) the pairs display an identical phrasing in a horizontal pattern. In the second (= fig. 10) we find an identical phrasing in a cross-pattern. Each part is closed by its second pair by an adverbial phrase. The whole section is closed by a kind of generalizing conclusion: *sdm.f sprty nb hft hp pn nty m-.f* which also terminates Part 2 of the text. For a similar cross-pattern, see section 4 (p. 78).

9. *hr 3bd 2* - A curious feature is that Signlist W3  is used here to determine *3bd*, "month". Two other hieroglyphic examples are known to us from Siut 87. Its use may have been inspired by the festival sphere 88, or simply by hieratic.
10. *ir swt 3hwt.f nty tkn n niwt rst [n hnw]* - *Nty tkn*, construction after GEG, § 328,1. We notice the invariable *nty*. The [*n*] may be restored from A16, [*hnw*] from W15. Here we will discuss the two locations of fields. Firstly, *3hwt.f m šm' t3-mhw*. In section 1 we found that our text is concerned with subjects as if these were dealt with by one vizier while actually there are two viziers in office 89. This feature applies here to the indication "his fields in Upper and Lower Egypt". His outlying fields are grouped together creating the impression of belonging to the

85 Wb I, 389, 6.

86 LGEC, § 491, 7; NÄG, § 610, 9; cf. also AL I-III s.v. and the quotations in GEG, § 436.

87 Griffith, *Siut*, Pl. 8 ll. 308, 311; cf. James, *Hekanakhete*, 25 n. 45.

88 On the subject of month-names and feasts, cf. Van Walsem, in: *Gleanings DeM*, 215-44.

89 Cf. p. 19ff. See also chapters 4.3 and 4.6.3.

territory of one vizier, whereas in reality they belonged to the territories of two officials ⁹⁰. The indication is clearly inspired by the opposition with the second location of fields: *3hwt.f nty tkn n niwt rst [n hnw]*, "his fields which are near to the Southern City and the Residence-city", denoting the *two* governmental centres ⁹¹. We interpret the two locations as meaning basically: his outlying fields in the provincial areas and his fields near to the governmental centres. We feel that emphasis rests here on the respective distance between the fields and the viziral bureau(s).

There is a different option to be considered. One might surmise that the first passage *3hwt.f m šm' t3-mhw* is concerned with the case of a petitioner whose fields are scattered throughout Egypt's provinces, while the second passage deals with a *different* case of *another* petitioner whose fields are near to the governmental centres. The two cases are then listed one after the other to indicate the differences in the vizier's ruling on the period of the delay, deducing – as it were – a general rule from two separate cases.

However, we find this option less plausible. The sentence *ir grt sprtyfy nb...wd.f sw n.f* (R16) clearly gives the impression of dealing with one person who then petitions about fields of two different locations (or at least on the possibility of having fields at two different sites). Moreover, the contrast between the two locations is stressed by *swt* and the fields are explicitly called "his fields". In fact, the tenor of both options remains the same.

Therefore, we are dealing with one petitioner on the subject of fields but with two different sorts of location. "His fields" could be taken to indicate either that he owns the fields, or that he rents them, or that he has official usufruct of their revenue, or that he is tenant-farmer etc. There is no way of telling what his actual status is. If it would have been crucial to know, we may assume that the author would have pinpointed his status in some way. Clearly, it is of no concern here. The texts deals with the petitioner generally as the person responsible for the fields under discussion. In the same way, the author did not specify the type of fields concerned. They are simply called *3hwt*, "fields". Any type of petitioner responsible for any type of field may petition to the vizier. The differences in the latter's decision are, therefore, brought about neither by the status of the petitioner nor by the type of field concerned. They are brought about by the differences in location.

11. *ir.f wdf r.f hr hrw 3* – Now that we have assembled all available information in the preceding pages we may attempt a reconstruction of the events and the determination of the nature of the "delay".

⁹⁰ Against Gardiner, *Mes*, 38. For the orthography of *šm' t3-mhw*, see below p. 212.

⁹¹ Cf. p. 18ff.

- 1) a petitioner calls upon the vizier on the subject of *3hwt.f*
- 2) the vizier summons him into his presence
- 3) the vizier consults the *imy-r 'hwt* and the *d3d3t nt tm3*
- 4) his decision:

fields throughout Egypt	: a delay of 2 months
fields near the two centres	: a delay of 3 days
- 5) the vizier's decision is in accordance with the law.

First of all, we stress obs. 2 (as the text does!): the petitioner is at the vizier's office and not at his own place. Next, we observe that the location of fields has a direct bearing on the duration of the delay, or vice versa, the length of the delay is caused by the respective location. A location in the direct vicinity of the vizier's office, i.e. one of the governmental centres, leads to a short delay; a greater distance prolongs the delay. The vizier consults two types of *local* officials, the *imy-r 'hwt*, the chief official in charge of e.g. land-measuring and a group of officials concerned with the actual accomplishment of the work, the *d3d3t nt tm3*.

The involvement of these officials may suggest that the petitioner's appeal to the vizier concerns e.g. the measuring of fields by these very officials. It could be suggested that a dispute has arisen between the officials and the petitioner on e.g. the correct and final assessment of the boundaries of his fields ⁹². If the size of his fields was established too small, this would injure cadastral rights in respect of the landed property, either of the petitioner himself or of some other owner or owning institution represented by the petitioner. If the size was established too large, this would entail an unlawful increase in the tax-assessment on the plot(s). Both situations would, moreover, have effects on adjoining plots of land.

An initial solution would be to settle the dispute locally. We will return to this point hereafter.

A second solution would be that the person drafts an appeal to the vizier. The vizier then consults both parties involved after having summoned the petitioner and the local officials to his bureau.

When the fields about which the dispute has arisen are in his direct neighbourhood he grants a delay of three days. When they are far away the delay amounts to two months. Now this suggests, in our example, that the vizier orders a re-assessment of the boundaries of the fields concerned, laying down a period of time in which this can and must be accomplished. When the two parties involved do not have to cover a great distance to return to the spot of the dispute, the re-assessment has to be finished within three days. When they have to travel far, from the vizier's seat to the fields concerned, it has to be finished within two months, allowing this period for travel and re-assessment. In our view, therefore, *wdf*, "delay" refers, in our

⁹² From the P. Wilbour we gain a vivid impression of the kind of mistakes that could be made, cf. Helck, *Mat. II*, 299. For another appeal to the vizier in agricultural affairs, see P. Bologna 1086, IV, 14ff. (Wolf, *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 92ff); cf. P. Sallier I, 9, 1ff. (LEM, 87, 5ff.; CLEM, 326ff.).

example, to a postponement of the final assessment of boundaries establishing at the same time a time-limit for the re-assessment period. In general *wdf* pertains to the suspension of a decision taken by these local officials.

From the short delay of three days when the fields are located in the vicinity we may infer that - in the example used here - the re-assessment had to be finished as quickly as possible. The reasons are obvious. Any uncertainty as to the responsibility for the fields concerned, as to the final calculation of the expected tax-revenue, as to their cultivation, as to the presence or absence of rights on adjoining fields etc. had to be avoided. That would undermine the very basis of the agricultural system. Any dispute had to be solved as fast as possible. Only then would everyone involved know his rights and duties. This would suggest that disputes of this nature were first of all settled on a local level, avoiding long troublesome journeys to the governmental centres by both parties ⁹³.

For this reason, we think it is only in the last resort that a petitioner would address the vizier with his problems. The local officials having reached their final assessment and left with no other alternative to get justice done, he would have turned to the vizier. It is along these lines that we interpret the sentence under discussion. The vizier functions as a court of appeal on local agricultural affairs and disputes, *in casu* land-measurement, tax-assessment, the allotment of labourers etc. Of course, the best illustration of this is the 19th. dyn. Inscription of Mes supplying us with information on five successive lawsuits on property rights on fields that were taken finally before the vizier and his court ⁹⁴.

Because the status of the petitioner remains undetermined we have to assume that in agricultural matters the vizier is a court of appeal to anyone, whether official or priest, whether soldier or peasant. The type of land is also left uncircumscribed, so his jurisdiction in these matters seems to apply to any type of land, whether pharaoh's land, temple land or land of private individuals.

We want to stress that the vizier apparently does not pronounce a verdict on the dispute itself ⁹⁵. He only orders a re-assessment to be carried out by the local officials in charge and stipulates its duration. Therefore, the petitioner's request is not for a trial or re-trial, his appeal is concerned with obtaining legal permission for a re-assessment by the local authorities. Ultimately, the matter will be settled locally.

⁹³ It must be noted that the present section does *not* prescribe that any dispute on agricultural affairs of this type has to be brought before the vizier. The phrasing of *ir grt sprtyfy nb n t3ty hr 3hwt...* (R17) is equivocal and might be interpreted as hinting to free will on the part of the petitioner.

⁹⁴ Gardiner, *Mes*, 32ff., *passim* (= KRI III, 424ff.).

⁹⁵ The same goes for the Inscription of Mes where the actual decision is left to a commissioner of the vizier, cf. Gardiner, *Mes*, 36ff.

In this respect it is interesting to draw attention to the curious "title" *iry hp* borne by the *sš n tm3* in the P. Harageh 3⁹⁶. Are we to assume that the law that will be reconstructed below (p. 168) had its local "curators"? This would explain the typical involvement of the vizier here, acting as a court of appeal and not as the ultimate judge. If so, the law would pertain to local procedures of land-measurement etc. and contain an entry on the right of appeal to the vizier in case the decisions were thought of as unjust or incorrect. It would be that particular entry - referring to a viziral task - that entered our text.

This argumentation could also supply a background for the interesting inscription in the tomb of Sobeknakht, a mayor of Elkab in the late MK. The text appears to be related to our section 8 in many ways:

hs-hr m h3 n 3hwt; spr.i n nsw hr 3hwt ntr pf m 'gni[]nty  *smn m wdw m rn wr n ntr nfr Sbk-htp m3'-hrw Nhtb mry, rhyt 3hwt hrw 20.000 etc.* ⁹⁷.

"(I am) one who counters ⁹⁸ the office of fields ⁹⁹; I petition to the King ¹⁰⁰ concerning the fields of this god in 'gni[.....] nty... ¹⁰¹, established by boundary-stones in the name of the good god Sobekhotep deceased ¹⁰², beloved of Nekhbet; amount of low-lying ¹⁰³ fields 20.000 etc."

Lack of additional evidence forces us to leave the matter undecided.

12. *m ntt r hp* - A standard expression regularly found in the NK ¹⁰⁴. With the term *hp* we enter a field of ongoing discussions. It does not

⁹⁶ See above p. 61; Smither, JEA 27 (1941), Pl. IX,17; p. 76 (e); cf. Meeks, *Edfou*, 125-6 (273).

⁹⁷ J.J. Tylor, *The Tomb of Sebeknekht*, London 1896: a combination of Pls. IX-VIII-VII, top row l. 3 (wrongly quoted by *Verwaltung*, 112; *Mat. II*, 217); Harari, ASAE 56 (1959), 142 n.1.

⁹⁸ For *hsi-hr*, "to counter, to face, to attack", cf. FCD, 177; Wb III, 159.

⁹⁹ Cf. above p. 156.

¹⁰⁰ Probably in name to the King, in reality to the vizier.

¹⁰¹ Apparently, a compound with the toponym 'gni, cf. *Verwaltung*, 112 n. 5.

¹⁰² Indicating that the boundaries were established in the past, in the reign of the deceased King Sobekhotep. With this as evidence Sobeknakht appears to counter the (decision of the) bureau of the *imy-r 3hwt* and he appeals to the King (i.e. the vizier) to have the boundaries of the temple-lands (re-)established correctly.

¹⁰³ For *hrw*, "low-lying lands", cf. FCD, 196; LÄ I, 779.

¹⁰⁴ Attested as (*m(i) ntt*) *r hp*. E.g., St. Juridique II. 12, 13, 27-8 (Lacau, *St. Jur.*, 22; 45; Helck, HBT, 65ff.); "Installation"-text Rekhmire R5 (Davies, Pl. CXVI); Urk IV, 121,14 (Paheri, *hpw!*); cf. Helck, *Aktenkunde*, 126 (h).

seem appropriate to repeat here what has been said in a substantial number of studies. With reference to this literature we will analyse *hp*, "law" in the context of R19 as far as possible.

The very fountain of truth, justice and order in Egypt is the concept of Ma'at ¹⁰⁵. It applies to every aspect of society and civilization. Ma'at is formulated by the gods and their earthly descendant the Pharaoh. Royal promulgations, being founded *qualitate qua* on Ma'at, are the "laws of Egypt", i.e. normative directives and prescriptions regulating life in the Nile Valley. Against this background we consider *hp* a manifestation of the "King's law" ¹⁰⁶. *Hp* appears to be concerned principally with specific situations, subjects, institutions etc. ¹⁰⁷. We know of numerous sorts of *hp*, e.g., *hp šm'*, "the law of Upper Egypt", *hpw 'r'yt*, "laws of the 'r'yt", or *hpw n ħnrt*, "laws of the prison" ¹⁰⁸. Some laws are even known by their title such as the famous list of five in the P. Brooklyn 35.1446 ¹⁰⁹. It may be evident that once such detailed regulations become institutionalized and accepted, their background of "specific manifestations of the King's law" starts fading to a certain degree in contexts where we find them mentioned or operative. In gaining their own tradition they become customary, standard regulations – part of "common law" as it were –, and their royal origin tends to become obscure ¹¹⁰.

This line of reasoning may account for the various ways in which *hp* appears to be used. Its basic notion is retained e.g., in the appellation of the King and Thoth as "lords of the laws" ¹¹¹. When written down, *hp* becomes a written stipulation on a specific topic ¹¹². On the other hand, *hp* can be used in an abstract manner (retaining

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Allam, *Verfahrensrecht*, 37–8 (with ref.); Otto, MDAIK, 14 (1956), 150–1; Lorton, VA 2 (1986), 57ff.

¹⁰⁶ Ex. Horemheb Decree, right l. 4: *šdmyw mdt pr-nsw hpw nw 'ryt*, "(judges) obeying the words of the palace, the laws of the 'ryt", cf. Kruchten, DH, 148; Van den Boorn, JNES 44 (1985), 9. See also the two NK examples of "Pharaoh's word" used as "law", quoted by Otto, MDAIK, 14 (1956), 153.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Wilson, Suppl. JAOS 17 (1954), 1–7; Otto, MDAIK 14 (1956), 152.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted by Hayes, PLMK, 52; Lorton, TC, 61 n. 250.

¹⁰⁹ Hayes, PLMK, 47–52; 135; cf. Lurje, SAR, 153ff.

¹¹⁰ Their written formulation tends to conform to certain patterns (cf. Lorton, TC, 53–8). Yet, these patterns do not prove the existence of codified law in Pharaonic Egypt, as Lorton has it. They only testify to a tendency to standardize the formulation of royal directives *when* they are written down for legalistic reasons.

¹¹¹ Nims, JNES 7 (1948), 243; ex. *smn.k hpw*, "you (= Pharaoh) establish the laws", cf. Helck, *Wsr*, 109 col. 20; Otto, MDAIK 14 (1956), 151.

¹¹² Cf. Lorton, TC, 53–62 (esp. p. 59ff); Seidl, *Einführung*, 19–21; Tanner, *Klio* 46 (1965), 50–4. We do not follow the extreme view taken by Kruchten (DH, 214–23) who interprets *hp* basically as "scroll (of papyrus or leather)" and considers "law-provision" a derived meaning (cf. Vleeming's review of Kruchten's point in JESHO 27 (1984), 211–16). Equally, we do not agree with Lorton (TC, 59ff) who

something of its Ma'at fundament!) in the expression *lri hp r*, "to apply the law against..." ¹¹³. This variety in usage also gives rise to weakened meanings, such as "(customary) rule, prescription etc." ¹¹⁴.

In the foregoing entry we found that the vizier does not pronounce a verdict on the agricultural matters concerned. He only grants the suspension of a decision reached by local officials. He orders a reconsideration of the matter by both parties and establishes a maximum period for its implementation. This he does *m ntt r hp*, "as according to the law". This law can now be reconstructed to some extent.

- 1) A person can make an appeal to the vizier on the subject of decisions taken by the *imy-r 'hwt* and the *d3d3t nt tm3* on an unknown variety of rural affairs concerning fields.
N.B. In the present analysis we have used the assessment of boundaries as an example.
- 2) If so, the vizier will consult the aforementioned officials personally, in addition to hearing the petitioner.
- 3) The vizier will take into consideration the location of the petitioner's fields.
- 4) Proceeding from 2-3 he will order (or grant, depending on the point of view) the suspension of the pertinent decision in order to allow for a reconsideration by the parties involved.
- 5) He will establish the duration of the period of reconsideration (in conjunction with point 3).
- 6) The matter will be settled finally on the local level by the two parties.

We must observe that the text explicitly refers to points 3 and 5 as being *m ntt r hp*. The other observations remain more or less implicit and are inferences from the logic order of section 8.

Taking into consideration the nature of our text we regard this procedure as a royal promulgation or directive on a specific issue,

takes *hpw* to mean "law-code" and *hp* "a written stipulation from a law-code". In our view, some *hpw* were written down but a stipulation was not a *hp* because it was written down. Despite lengthy discussions by i.a. Kruchten (DH, 214-23), Lorton (TC, 53ff.) and Théodoridès (RIDA 14 (1967), 107-52), the existence of codified law and law-codices remains to be proven. E.g., Lorton's view on *hpw*, "law-codex" goes astray in the variant of the fixed expression *m ntt r hpw* as given by Urk IV, 121,14 (cf. n. 104 above). Cf. Lorton, VA 2 (1986), 53ff.

¹¹³ For a different view, cf. Kruchten, DH, 216-7 with n. 54 (Lorton's view); Lorton, VA 2 (1986), 54.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen*, 154; Meeks, *Edfou*, 125-6 (273) quoting i.a. Urk IV, 1815,8; *ir hpw n imy(w) 'h'*, "un qui édicte des règles (d'étiquette) pour ceux qui sont dans le palais". For the range of meanings in demotic, cf. Nims, JNES 7 (1948), 243-60.

i.e., a *hp* in its basic sense of "manifestation of the King's law". As Egypt's chief official and the King's deputy in these matters the vizier is expected here to observe the King's law. Whether this regulation was ever written down remains obscure to date.

One final point. It is interesting to note that in this case of a civil dispute on agricultural matters the vizier functions as a court of appeal. He only has authority to apply the law and order the re-assessment of an administrative activity of the local government. The matter itself is thereafter left to be decided, apparently, by these local officials and the petitioner. In R20 we will encounter a criminal case of an agricultural nature. In contrast to the one under discussion, there the vizier will act as the final judge pronouncing and executing a verdict.

13. *sdmt.f sprty nb hft hp pn nty m-.f* - For *sdmt*, see above VARIANTS, note (d). This is the only instance where the author has used the demonstrative *pn* ¹¹⁵.

It could be stated that *pn* has lost here much of its deictic force in that it refers as an "anaphorous pronoun" to the following adverbial phrase ¹¹⁶. However, that does not explain why it has been used here in this sole example instead of the usual *p3*. Another solution seems preferable. In this last sentence of section 8 the theme of the foregoing lines is generalized: "He hears every petitioner according to the pertinent law which is in his hand". Any case of a petitioner is to be heard in accordance with the very "law" (if existent!) that pertains to that specific case. *Pn* seems to be used here in a generalizing, resumptive sense.

The compound preposition *m-* and the related *m-di* and *m-drt* have been the subject of study for a long time ¹¹⁷. The presence of the determinative-stroke | and the empty-handed arm  cancels all problems of identification here. The preposition is to be read as *m-* here.

Some scholars have rendered the present phrase literally: "according to this law which is in his hand", seeking support for their contention that codified (rolls of) law did exist in Egypt ¹¹⁸. However, we agree with those who interpret *m-* in a more abstract way "in

¹¹⁵ Contemporary texts show the same preponderance of *p3* etc. over *pn*, e.g., the Ahmose texts from Elkab, cf. Vandersleyen, CdE 45 (1970), 68-75.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Van den Boorn, Date, 370 n. 10-11. There we advocated the sense of Latin "idem".

¹¹⁷ On their interconnections, see NÄG, § 622ff.; Caminos, *Woe*, 58 n. 1; Théodoridès, RdE 22 (1970), 139-40; Janssen, *Prices*, 506; Meeks, *Donations*, 631 n. 103; 633 n. 107; 644 n. 175. On the L. Eg. descendent *m-di*, see Borghouts, SAK 8 (1980), 65-78.

¹¹⁸ E.g., Otto, MDAIK 14 (1956), 152 n. 7, a view possibly inspired by the statements of Diodorus Siculus I, 75,6, cf. Seidl, *Einführung*, 19.

someone's charge, under someone's direction" 119. The vizier is instructed here to hear every petitioner in accordance with the law that he enforces. The vizier as "enforcer of the law(s)" is a notion to which numerous texts testify, e.g.:

- *m ir 3 [bt] .k m ht ntt rhtⁱ hp irw*, "do not do your [own will] in matters whereof the law is known" said to the vizier, "Installation"-text of Rekhmire, R19-R20 120
- *didⁱ hpw*, "one who enforces the laws" vizier Mentuhotep, MK, stela CCG 20539 121
- *smmh hpw.f m tp-rd r[]*, "one who establishes his laws (scil. of the King) as instruction(s) to[]", vizier Ptahmose, 18th dyn., statue Brooklyn 37.1512 E 122
- *imy-r hpw*, "Overseer of the laws", vizier Rahotep, 19th dyn., stela Cairo JdE 48845, front l. 5 123.

Evidently, these examples refer to the vizier as the enforcer *par excellence* of the King's law. On the other hand, we learn from the 1st ex., and indeed from the whole "Installation"-text, or e.g., from the Ptahhotep teachings that a vizier is instructed time and again to abide by the very same law which he enforces on others. As its primary enforcer he is not above the law.

We feel that this is precisely what is meant here. The sentence under discussion serves as a sort of general (and ethical) conclusion to the foregoing ones 124. There it was stated that the vizier has to act according to certain procedures which appeared to be founded on a law. He was not expected to interpret and apply the law as a judge; he was expected to follow the known provisions of the law in these matters. This final sentence of section 8 contains an ethical prohibition of arbitrary decisions on the part of the vizier. Truly, he must be a man of the law 125.

The emphasis here and elsewhere on the correct treatment of petitioners sheds some light on the workings of the Egyptian bureaucracy. Making a petition was in fact the only way the common Egyptian could "participate" in the administration. It was the only way he could counter and alter decisions reached by the various

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- 119 In administrative as well as economic contexts, cf. e.g., Megally, *St. Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974), 301-2 (d); id., *Notions*, 15-6 n. 5; Théodoridès, *RdE* 22 (1970), 139-40; Lorton, *JT*, 107-8; Hayes, *PLMK*, 118.
 - 120 Restoration and translation after Faulkner, *JEA* 41 (1955), 23; 28 n. 57.
 - 121 Grdselof, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 201 (= Otto, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 152 n. 3); Lorton, *VA* 2 (1986), 55.
 - 122 James, *CHIBM*, Pl. LXVII: 256B l. 2; p. 114 (256); compare Horemheb Decree, right l. 4 (Kruchten, *DH*, 148; 155).
 - 123 Moursi, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 322.
 - 124 In fact, it also terminates Part 2 of our text.
 - 125 In this respect we are naturally reminded of the vizier as "priest" or "prophet" of Ma'at, cf. LÄ III, 1112; Grdseloff, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 185-206; Borghouts, in: *Gleanings DeM*, 85-7.

governmental echelons that effected his life – apart from going to court. The exhortations and instructions to treat a petitioner correctly say something about the government's concern for the needs and wishes of its population and its intention to operate its bureaucracy properly. Apparently, it did not always work out that way!

SECTION 9 R19

Pl. 2; 5

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------------------|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVII, 19; CXX, 19
Urk IV, 1111, 3-7 | |
| II | B, 277
F, 943
D, 92
S, 113 | H, 34-5
J, 65
L, 438 |
| III | GEG, § 362
Hayes, PLMK, 69
Frandsen, <i>Outline</i> , 153
Polotsky, <i>Coll. Papers</i> , 63 | R19
R19
R19
R19 |

TRANSLITERATION

- R19 *ntf grt inn knbtyw nw w; ntf h(3)b sn a), smi.sn n b) .f hrt ww.sn;
inn.t(w) n.f imyt-pr nb; ntf htm st.*

VARIANTS

- a) Parallel to R19: *h(3)b sn*, the preserved part of W16 starts with [] *nn sn*. Both copies continue with *smi.sn*. Evidently, therefore, the W-version originally gave a different verb. Helck (*Verwaltung*, 34: § 10 (a)) ingeniously suggested that in the (later) R-version *h3b* and *ini* had changed places, as compared with the (earlier) W-version. This would not alter the interpretation in any fundamental way. Here we adhere to the R-version.
- b) Haplography, as evidenced by the W-text.

TRANSLATION

- R19 Now, it is he who shall send for (lit. fetch) ¹ the councillors of the (rural) district ². It is he who shall dispatch them ³ so that ⁴ they may report to him the matters ⁵ of their districts ². It is to him that ⁶ every *imyt-pr* ⁷ shall be brought. It is he who shall seal it ⁸.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

Starting with section 9 we observe a change of atmosphere in our text. The change is brought about by a number of facts.

- While absent from R1-R19 we notice the dominating appearance of the emphatic *ntf sdm* - pattern in R19-R36. The variety in sentence- and verbal patterns decreases. A section may consist of only one or two sentences with a participial statement construction. In a minority of cases a section consists of a *ntf sdm* - patterned sentence followed by another with a different verbal construction (and then is terminated by a 2nd *ntf sdm* - sentence). Sporadically, sections use other verbal patterns. The *ntf sdm* construction is sometimes replaced by other emphatic formations (see below).
- The sentences and, therefore, the sections tend to become shorter (making it harder to trace their meaning!). It follows that the variety of subjects increases, as compared with sections 1-8. Surveying the columns R19-R36 one gains the impression that the wide variety of duties to be performed by the vizier is a general key notion here.
- Formal stylization appeared to be an intrinsic aspect of Parts 1-2. In Part 3 it takes on a different form. Sentences dominated by *ntf sdm*-formations tend to conform to a single pattern in their section. The result is a stylized appearance that comes close to formal patterning. A nice illustration is the characteristic sequence of short sentences in section 9:

ntf grt inn...;
ntf h(3)b....,
smi.sn....;
inn.t(w) n.f...;
ntf htm....

By way of illustrating the foregoing observations and the rhythm of Part 3 we list the sections of Part 3 by means of their first words (up to R28):

section	9	R19	<i>ntf grt inn...</i>
	10	R20	<i>ntf irr...</i>
	11	R20	deviating: <i>ir grt bi3t...</i>
	12	R21	<i>ntf sbb...</i>
	13	R22	<i>ntf irr...</i>
	14	R23	<i>ntf irr...</i>
	15	R24	deviating: <i>im2 grt...</i>
	16	R24	<i>ntf sbb...</i>
	17	R25	<i>ntf irr...</i>
	18	R26	<i>ntf sbb...</i>
	19	R27	<i>ntf sdm...</i>
		(R28-R36:	Final Columns).

- It may be observed that most sections start with a participial statement construction. Moreover, we observe the preponderance of the verbs *sbi* and *iri*. These features may cautiously be used as

criteria for grouping sentences into a section and disconnecting others.

In conclusion we notice that, as regards contents, section 9 may be grouped together with section 8 and 10. All three deal with agricultural affairs, inherent property rights and procedures. However, the emergence in section 9 of the participial statement pattern makes it imperative to consider section 9 a main and formal dividing-line in the text, i.e. the beginning of Part 3. This is reinforced by the fact that section 8 is concluded by a general and normative epilogue reminiscent of the ethical instructions in the "Installation"-text of Rekhmire. For a general discussion of the text's division into Parts, see chapter 2.5.2 and 4.7.

COMMENTARY

1. *ntf grt inn* - Note the particle *grt* introducing a new theme ¹. The sense of *inn* as "to fetch" is stressed by its opposition with the following *h(3)b* ².
2. *knbtw nw w / ww* - We will deal here with both terms since they are clearly related. We note the particular writing of the plural of *w* in *ww* with the twin-quail chick "monogram" Signlist G44 ³. In the course of our analysis of the title *hk3-hwt* we presented a provisional outline of the local administration of the early NK ⁴. There emerged a division between the urban centres headed by *h3tyw-* and *hk3w-hwwt* and the rural territories. The latter are called *w*, "rural district". Together with the urban area (i.e. *nwt*, *hwt*), the *w*, "rural district" constituted a basic administrative unit that more or less embraced the territory of the old nomes ⁵. The *w*-district could be named after the adjoining urban centre ⁶. Some received nick-names ⁷.

¹ Cf. p. 55.
² For *inn*, "to fetch", cf. Černý, in: *St. Polotsky*, 81-5; Posener, *JEA* 54 (1968), 69.
³ Compare e.g., Urk IV, 615, 12. The writing of *w*, "district" must be distinguished from *hbsw*, "freshly acquired arable land" always showing the X phonogram (e.g., *P. Reisner I*, Pl. 4,3; *P. Reisner II*, Pl. 13,5; Hayes, *PLMK*, Pl. 1,4; Signlist Z9 (3); Urk IV, 1093, 2; 1054, 14; 1050, 16; 1122,2; cf. Schenkel, *Bewässerungsrev.*, 32-4) and from *sw(w)*, *x3* (with var.), esp. in the expression *m sw n*, "in the direct vicinity of" (Helck, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 24 col. 4; 25 col. 26 = HBT, 122; 124; Meeks, in: *Homm. Sauneron I*, 252 (63)).
⁴ See above p. 108ff. For the analysis, see chapter 3.4.
⁵ Cf. *Verwaltung*, 226; Helck, *Gaue*, 56; Kees, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 47; *Wilbour II*, 40; Kessler, *Topographie*, 138-9. See below fig. 12.
⁶ E.g., in the "Tribute"-list of Rekhmire, cf. *Verwaltung*, 212-3; 226.
⁷ E.g., Urk IV, 2109, 3 ("Fields of Hittites"); cf. Helck, *Mat. II*, 294.

Larger subdivisions of a *w* sometimes had their own names⁸. The term appears to be operative from the MK to the Late Period – with intervals in the late NK and TIP⁹. Its equivalent is (the younger term) *k'ḥt*, especially from the 19th dyn. onwards¹⁰. Its administrative status will be dealt with below in conjunction with the title *knbtj n w*.

Apart from its administrative and functional meaning, *w* is often found in contexts of a more general, or at least less well defined, nature¹¹. A rendering "(rural) area" or "region" suggests itself there and it is often hard to decide whether *w* is used in the specific or the general sense. The nature of The Duties precludes the latter possibility in R19.

Having established the two ways in which *w* appears to be used, we now take up a question left unanswered in section 2, i.e. the nature of *w* in the title *imy-r w*¹². This official – charged with police tasks – appeared to be attached to a variety of institutions.

We observe that there are two main titles compounded with *w*: *imy-r w* and *knbtj n w*¹³. A glance at the dictionaries and the literature here referred to will suffice to indicate that the writing of their element *w* is fairly consistent and matches *w*, "rural district/region". We have to assume, therefore, that *w* is one and the same noun in all three cases. The *w* in *imy-r w* may then be explained as conveying the general sense of "region" analysed above, designating the area/the location of the institution over which the official yields his powers¹⁴.

The administrative and functional meaning of *w* is found on the other hand in the 2nd title *knbtj n w*, "councillor of the district", the official responsible for the rural district¹⁵. As Luft aptly remarks, it is interesting to note that these officials are apparently treated as members of a collective of officials, as members of a *knbt*, instead

8 Cf. *Verwaltung*, 226–7; Meeks, *Donations*, 629–30 n. 92; Kessler, *Topographie*, 147.

9 *Verwaltung*, 226; 232; Helck, *Gaue*, 57; Kessler, *Topographie*, 156 n. 700.

10 *Verwaltung*, 226; *Wilbour II*, 40; Kees, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 46–7.

11 E.g., Hayes, *JEA* 46 (1960), 47 (21 vo., 5); Pl. XIII; RB, 57, 15; Urk IV, 172, 3; P. Lansing 12,9 (CLEM, 419), AL III, 83 (0843); Kitchen, *Ugarit Forschungen* 11 (1979), 456. For the Late Period, e.g., Goedicke, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 189 col. 4.

12 See above p. 51ff.

13 Not considering their assistants etc. For the *ss n w*, see below.

14 The same view is held by Ward, *Ugarit Forschungen* 8 (1976), 363–4. 77. It is impossible to decide at present whether the unique title *imy-r w n lwnt* (Ward, *Index*, 17 no. 96) means "district's overseer of Dendera" or "overseer of the rural district of Dendera". The latter option would seem preferable.

15 Helck, *Gaue*, 57; id., *SAK* 3 (1975), 101; LÄ II, 421; III, 920; V, 1251,2.

of being treated as individual officials with an individual title ¹⁶. It would seem possible, therefore, to assume the existence of an overall "council of the district(s)" in which these officials were grouped as a separate echelon of the local government (parallel to the "urban authorities"?) or perhaps according to some geographical principle. At present, there seems to be no evidence for the existence of such a council.

The councillor of the district was an administrative official. As Hayes points out, he had nothing to do with the judiciary ¹⁷. Our information on the nature of his tasks is scanty ¹⁸.

- 1) From P. Brooklyn 35.1446 ro., Insertion A, Hayes infers that he reports to and carries out instructions from the *hnrt wr* in regard to fugitives from the local corvees ¹⁹.
- 2) The MK P. Berlin 10032 (right ro., 2) contains a letter of the councillor of the district Imeni to the temple scribe Kemaou referring to a letter received by Kemaou on the subject of the *šdw*-fields (?) of a priest ²⁰. In the same letter (ro., 19) Imeni points to the annoyance of the vizier (on this subject?). Luft concludes that Imeni had received an unpleasant message from the vizier. His implicit suggestion is that Imeni carries out some instruction of the vizier in writing his letter to Kemaou.
- 3) In the MK P. Berlin 10067 ro., 9 a councillor of the district enquires about an overdue delivery of crops ²¹.
- 4) In the legends to the NK "Tribute"-lists of Rekhmire and Intef ²² the councillors of the districts are mentioned among other functionaries as representing their districts when delivering goods to the vizier.
- 5) In the scenes of the "Tribute"-list of Rekhmire the councillors of the district each deliver their own goods ²³. A rather high percentage of their deliveries consists of various kinds of crops and cattle.
- 6) In Duties R24-R25 we are informed that the vizier instructs the councillors of the district to carry out irrigation work in the entire country ²⁴.

16 Luft, Oikumene 3 (1982), 129. To be sure, one specific *w* was headed by *one knbty n w*, not be a **knbt nt w*. This is suggested by Rekhmire's "Tribute"-List where various districts are represented each time by *one* such official (cf. *Verwaltung*, 212-3).

17 PLMK, 68-9 (against e.g., von Beckerath, UGZZ, 94).

18 In general, cf. Hayes, PLMK, 68-70; 139-40; *Verwaltung*, 239-40.

19 Cf. above, p. 136; Hayes, PLMK, 67-70; 139-40. Compare - perhaps - P. Berlin 10021 (Scharff, ZÄS 59 (1924), 45-7; Pl. on sheets 9-10).

20 Luft, Oikumene 3 (1982), 129. The question-mark is added by Luft. For these *šdw*-fields, see below p. 187ff.

21 Ibid., 130.

22 Above p. 102-3; texts 2.2, 3.1, 3.2.

23 Davies, Pl. XXIX-XXXV; Urk IV, 1119-1139.

24 See below p. 238ff.

- 7) In the section under discussion we find the general statement that the councillors of the district are dispatched and sent for by the vizier. To him they have to report the current matters of their districts (see below).

Two observations emerge from these bits of information. The *knbtý n w* was involved in various "rural" matters: the checking of field-labourers (ex. 1), of the delivery of crops (ex. 3), of (specific?) fields (ex. 2); representing his district officially before the central government (ex. 5, 7) or towards subordinates or others (ex. 1, 2, 3); bearing responsibility for the irrigation-system (ex. 6). Whether this is a reasonable resume of all of his tasks remains uncertain.

The second observation is that he has definite and direct ties to the vizier and his executive departments (ex. 1, 2, 4-7). This would seem to contradict the viewpoint held by Helck to the effect that the councillor of the district was subordinate to the mayor in the final instance²⁵. Three further arguments militate against this assumption.

The councillor of the district seems to have been a quite high-ranking official. He is known to have at his disposal a "bodyguard" (*imy-s3*) and a scribe (*sš n knbtý n w*)²⁶. Ibi-ref, a councillor of the district from the late MK, apparently has the means to order a statue of perfect quality²⁷. Most importantly, in the "Tribute"-lists (ex. 4-5) they clearly operate on their own behalf, independent from the mayor, as representatives of their own administrative area²⁸. In section 16 (R24-R25) they are listed before the *h3tyw-' h3w-hwwt* and perform their hydraulic tasks independently from the latter²⁹. Finally, in the present section it is stated that they report their current business to the vizier personally. If they had been subordinate to the mayors in any way, it is likely that they would have had to report first of all to them and not directly to the vizier. The conclusion must be, therefore, that a *knbtý n w* was an independent official, in charge of an *w*, "rural district", and directly responsible only to the vizier. For the status of *w* with regard to the urban area, see below chapter 3.4. Although the *knbtý n w* is mainly found in the MK, he occurs well into the early NK³⁰.

25 LÄ II, 421; III, 920; V, 1251-2. Compare his remark in *Verwaltung*, 240!

26 Hayes, PLMK 69; Needler, in: *St. Dunham*, 135 n. 15; Ward, *Index*, 166; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 239-40 holds a different view.

27 Needler, in: *St. Dunham*, 132-6.

28 Cf. Luft, *Oikumene* 3 (1982), 129-30. O'Connor (MSU, 687) observes that "nome-capitals" without known mayors in the Rekhmire-list have *ww*, "rural districts" (and are thus represented by *knbtýw nw w*). This is only partially true when seen in the light of Helck's attempt to provide the list of officials with a hierarchical order, cf. *Verwaltung*, 212-8; *Mat. VI*, 12-4.

29 See below p. 234ff.

30 Texts 4-7 referred to above (p. 176-7); *Verwaltung*, 240 n. 3.

A final problem to be pointed out is Helck's statement that his assistant, i. e. the *sš n w*, is also called the *sš 3hwt* ³¹. Since the latter is also (one of) the assistant(s) of the *imy-r 3hwt*, "overseer of fields" ³², this would mean that the *sš n w*, and therefore the *knbt n w*, had (unidentified) ties to the *imy-r 3hwt*. Helck based his point on Rekhmire's "Tribute"-list. In the two legends to its two scenes the *knbt n w* occur, as well as *sšw 3hwt.sn* ³³. It is difficult to say to whom the suffix *.sn* refers. Most likely to the preceding *whmw n w sp3t* and not to *knbt n w*. In the scenes themselves the *sšw n w* of a particular district occur four times ³⁴; the *sš 3hwt* is found three times, if we accept *sš* as its abbreviated writing (rather than interpreting it as *sš ww*) ³⁵. Therefore, we see no reason to accept Helck's argument ³⁶. Hence we consider the *sš n w* a possible assistant of the *knbt n w* and the *sš 3hwt* an assistant of the *imy-r 3hwt* ³⁷. No relationship can be established at present although we may assume that they had contacts in view of their mutual association with rural work (see below fig. 12).

3. *h(3)b sn* - From the choice of terms it is evident that the *knbt n w* are directly responsible to the vizier. He summons them to his court; he dispatches them to their respective districts. From him they receive their instructions. This is evidenced by section 16. The additional evidence referred to above supports this point. Their functioning as local officials subordinate to the vizier is comparable to the position of the *h3tyw-' hk3w-hwwt* ³⁸. The text presents them as equals in every respect.
4. *smi.sn n.f* ... - At first sight the sentence could be taken as independent from the preceding one. While this would not seriously effect the interpretation, we feel that the clause is best considered a virtual clause of purpose depending on the foregoing main clause ³⁹. The patterning of the present section ⁴⁰ tends to support this: thus

31 In our view, rather improbable in itself. Cf. *Verwaltung*, 113; *Gaue*, 57. *sš n w* is to be distinguished from *sš n knbt n w*. It must be observed that the association *sš n w* - *knbt n w* solely rests on the element *w*.

32 Cf. above p. 153ff.

33 See above texts 3.1-2, p. 103. As is to be expected the *imy-r 3hwt* does not occur (cf. p. 153ff.).

34 Urk IV, 1129, 16; 1130, 6; 1135, 15; 1136, 5.

35 Urk IV, 1122, 2; 1124, 11; 1138, 10.

36 Even if we follow Helck's attempt to read a hierarchy into the lists, no correlation emerges (cf. note 28 above). We must counsel caution regarding Helck's scheme (*Verwaltung*, 212-3). It does not match Davies' facsimile in every detail and contains a number of interpretations.

37 With possible dealings with the *whmw n sp3t*.

38 E.g. sections 5, 16.

39 Cf. GEG, § 219 and Gardiner's translation, o.c., 362-3.

40 See above p. 173.

the section consists of four main emphatic constructions/forms instead of two and two separated by one non-emphatic form.

5. *hrt ww.sn* - For *hrt* as "matters, affairs, business" see above p. 46. It is impossible at present to elucidate the exact nature of "the matters of their districts". The few sources quoted above (p. 176-7) permit only a passing glance at some random aspects of their work: the supervision of fugitive field-labourers on government-operated farm-lands; *šdw*-fields (?), see section 10; deliveries of crops; irrigationwork, see section 16; official deliveries from his district to the vizier. These sources seem to indicate that the *knbtj n w* - as an official of the local administration - reports on largely rural matters of public interest that concern the central government and for which he bears the primary responsibility.
6. *inn.t(w) n.f* - An emphatic form. Polotsky and Frandsen have drawn attention to the alternation of emphatic constructions, i.e. the participial statements, and an emphatic form, i.e. *inn.t(w)*, in the present section ⁴¹. Several other examples will be found in the following sections ⁴².

A problem of a more general nature is whether this 2nd part of section 9 on *imyt-pr* really belongs to the section or must be isolated as a separate and independent statement.

As regards their contents, section 8 - 9:1st part - 10 belong together. All three deal with rural matters of an administrative nature and define the role of the vizier therein. This would suggest the 2nd part of section 9 (on *imyt-pr*) to conform more or less with this pattern. As will be seen below, the part on *imyt-pr* is concerned with transferences of offices and office-held property. Now, section 10 will appear to deal with office-held rural property (*šdw*-fields) ⁴³. All that can be said, therefore, is that the 2nd part of section 9 fits in with the general tenor of the text here. Patterning, initial verbal construction and the distribution of themes in section 10 (p. 185-6) favour the incorporation of the *imyt-pr* - topic in section 9 and the isolation of *šdw*-fields as a separate theme in section 10.

However, at present there is no evidence whatsoever for a connection between *knbtjw nw w* and *imyt-pr*. Having grouped both themes in one section, this will not lead us to hasty conclusions, although the configuration might be a starting point to others.

⁴¹ Polotsky, *Coll. Papers*, 63-4; Frandsen, *Outline*, 153 (ex. 2); cf. Kruchten, DH, 123. We observe the fact that emphasis rests here on the adverbial phrase *n.f* that precedes the object *imyt-pr*. See also below p. 223ff.

⁴² See below p. 223; 268; 280.

⁴³ This configuration was already observed by Assmann, in: *St. Westendorf*, 694 n. 39.

7. *imy*t-*pr* - Here we hit upon a legal *terminus technicus* that has aroused scholarly interest for a long time ⁴⁴. It occurs in all periods of Egyptian history, from the 4th dyn. to the Late Period ⁴⁵. Despite the number of discussions scholars have not yet reached a *communis opinio* as to its exact nature, its range of application or its possible variations in conceptual meaning over the course of time.

German scholars have advocated the interpretative rendering "Hausurkunde", i.e. "eine Urkundeart die die Verfügung über Hausvermögen betrifft", "...für Eigentumsübertragungen an wichtigen Objekten" ⁴⁶. Seidl stresses that *imy*t-*pr* is not to be rendered "will, testament" because it arranges transactions among living persons ⁴⁷. While adhering to the rendering "testament", Théodoridès has a more differentiated approach ⁴⁸. He considers *imy*t-*pr* "a generic term covering all kinds of conveyances"; it "provides for a unilateral transfer of property through arrangements consequent upon death", i.e. a will ⁴⁹. He admits that "testament" is only an approximate translation ⁵⁰. Menu on the other hand points out the intrinsic contractual aspect when she describes *imy*t-*pr* as: "le moyen d'assurer l'intégrité permanente d'un ensemble de biens ayant une affectation spéciale"; "une mesure destinée à empêcher la désagregation d'un masse réelle dotée d'un certaine indépendance"; "acte lié originellement à la constitution ou à la protection d'ensembles économiques immuables et autonomes" ⁵¹. An *imy*t-*pr* is drawn up at the occasion of the transfer of a "masse de biens affectée à un but déterminée" (= *pr*), e.g., an official function and its material assets or the exploitation of a rural domain ⁵², in

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- 44 For a survey of literature and opinions, see Mrsich, *Hausurkunde*, 4-7; Menu, RdE 23 (1971), 156-7; Théodoridès, RIDA 17 (1970), 119-24; 137 n. 73. For *imy*t-*pr* in religious texts, cf. e.g., Mrsich, SAK 2 (1975), 189ff; id., SAK 3 (1975), 201ff; id., in: *St. Westendorf*, 561ff.; Menu, RdE 23 (1971), 157 n. 3; 158 n. 3; 163 n. 1. Because of the diverging opinions we have left the term untranslated.
- 45 For the sources, see Menu, RdE 23 (1971), 157 n. 3.
- 46 Seidl, *Einführung*, 22; Mrsich, *Hausurkunde*, 172ff.; Allam, HOPR, 90 with n. 4.
- 47 *Einführung*, 22; 58.
- 48 Théodoridès, RIDA 17 (1970), 117-216; id., in: *Legacy*, 304. Most recently, id., CdE LX (1985), 322-46.
- 49 Quotation from *Legacy*, 304.
- 50 See Menu, RdE 23 (1971), 156-7 n. 3 citing Théodoridès.
- 51 Quotations from Menu, RdE 23 (1971), 158; 163; id., BIFAO 77 (1977), 92. As Menu points out (RdE 23 (1971), 157 n. 3): "les anciens Égyptiens eux-mêmes ont pu perdre de vue cette fonction principale de l'*imy*t-*pr*, ne retenant que son effect secondaire, translatif". In a weakened usage it may also pertain to "testamentary" arrangements of a less well defined nature, e.g., O. DeM 108 (Allam, HOPR, 89-90); inscription of Senimose (Urk IV, 1066ff.; Théodoridès, RIDA 17 (1970), 117-216; Spalinger, in: *St. Westendorf*, 631-50).
- 52 Cf. Menu, RdE 23 (1971), 158.

order to assure its integrity after conveyance into a new and inviolable hereditary line ⁵³.

Here we encounter "public" aspects that may be of interest for our text, e.g., the transfer of a public function and its office-held properties. According to Harari, *imyṯ-pr* can apply to the transmission of public functions from the MK onward ⁵⁴. All public functions have their own material assets intended for the up-keep of the functionary ⁵⁵. It would be in line with Menu's interpretation above to state that when an office was transmitted to a person other than the heir of the official, an *imyṯ-pr* had to be drafted (at least in the MK-NK) assuring the integral transmission of both function *and* its goods ⁵⁶.

In R19 it is stated that *imyṯ-pr nb* is to be brought to the vizier. We find it hard to believe that indeed *every imyṯ-pr* had to take that course. Because an *imyṯ-pr* pertains essentially to conveyances of a "private" as well as a "public" nature, that would mean that "private" as well as "public" transfers by means of *imyṯ-pr* would need viziral ratification ⁵⁷. Strictly speaking, "private" conveyances would not even exist! In our view it is the "public" type on which the text concentrates. A number of observations can be made in support of this.

- 1) The Duties is not at all interested in private affairs. It is concerned with civil administration and deals therefore with public aspects. This would be the only place where the text would enter the private sphere. If this were true it would mean,

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- ⁵³ Menu, RdE 23 (1971), 158-9; id., BIFAO 77 (1977), 92-3 with n. 1.
- ⁵⁴ Harari, ASAE 56 (1959), 179-84. Gödecken on the other hand, stresses the unchanging nature of *imyṯ-pr* in OK-MK-NK in a rather one-sided entry in LA III, 141-5. Menu's "contractual" approach would seem to be able to incorporate such conceptual developments, cf. RdE 23 (1971), 158.
- ⁵⁵ Cf. Menu, BIFAO 77 (1977), 92-3 with n. 1. However, we note that there is no solid diachronic evidence for the phenomenon.
- ⁵⁶ From e.g. the MK Hapi-Djefai contracts we know of the strict division between the office-dependent and the private property of an official and the different arrangements pertaining thereto, cf. Harari, ASAE 56 (1959), 151-5; Théodoridès, RIDA 18 (1971), 109-251; LA I, 1105-7; esp. Spalinger, JAOS 105 (1985), 7-20. See also Bogoslovsky, VDI (1979), 3-13.
- ⁵⁷ Basically, *imyṯ-pr* is sense-neutral as regards "private" or "public" field of application since it is not concerned with the specific nature of the goods to be transferred but with the integral transmission of the goods concerned, cf. Menu, RdE 23 (1971), 155-63. We are well aware that it is often hard to distinguish between "public" and "private" spheres in ancient Egypt. We understand "private" as pertaining to the family, a man's funerary cult, private property etc.; "public" as affecting society, administration etc.

moreover, that the vizier would have to mingle *personally* ⁵⁸ in private arrangements and gain information on the situation at hand etc. before ratifying the *imyṯ-pr*. This is hard to imagine. On the other hand, we know that when the execution of an *imyṯ-pr* of "private" nature was disputed – as in the case of the 18th dyn. inscription of Senimose ⁵⁹ – the vizier was called upon to supervise a settlement. This *imyṯ-pr* entered the "public" sphere because of its disputed application. Justice is a public event.

- 2) The Duties is concerned principally with the duties of a vizier as the chief public official of Egypt. It deals with the civil administration and the bureaucracy. Its main concern is the proper operation of the machinery of government. It details correct procedures of a public nature. This would suggest that the same applies to the passage under discussion. *'Imyṯ-pr* in R19 is embedded in this framework and cannot be isolated from the main drift of the text. Therefore, we advocate a limited field of application of the *imyṯ-pr* passage in R19, i.e. the field of administration and bureaucracy.
- 3) The last point can be taken further. In a number of places we have found a kind of associative relationship linking sections ⁶⁰. The treatment of one subject in one section leads the author to the subsequent treatment of a more or less related subject in the following one. Now, section 10 will appear to be concerned with *ṣdw*-fields, i.e. office-dependent rural property, function-bound fields of which the official enjoys usufruct ⁶¹. As already implied by Assmann ⁶², this may mean that *imyṯ-pr* in section 9 conveys a comparable tenor in that it is concerned with transfers of a public and official nature.

For these reasons we take the meaning of *imyṯ-pr* in R19 to be narrowed down by the context to *imyṯ-pr*'s of a "public" nature that effect the civil administration, its bureaucratic personnel and their office-dependent properties.

The best illustration of this type of *imyṯ-pr* is of course afforded by the Stèle Juridique of Karnak (late SIP) ⁶³, where Kabsy transfers his function of mayor of Elkab to his brother Sobeknakht together with its office-dependent properties ⁶⁴. The *imyṯ-pr* assuring the

58 This is stressed by the text: every *imyṯ-pr* is brought to *him*; *he* seals them!

59 For ref. see note 51 above. Perhaps P. Berlin 10.470 (17th dyn.) deals with a similar case, cf. Smither, JEA 34 (1948), 31ff.

60 See p. 302ff. below.

61 Below p. 187ff.

62 St. Westendorp, 694 n. 39.

63 Lacau, St. Jur. = HBT, 65-9; Harari, ASAE 51 (1951), 273-96; id., ASAE 56 (1959), 139-201; Menu, RdE 23 (1971), 155-63; Théodoridès, RIDA 1957, 33-52; id., RIDA 1958, 33-64; id., RIDA 1959, 107-30; id., RIDA 1962, 45-132; *Verwaltung*, 58-60.

64 Cf. Menu, BIFAO (1977), 93 with n. 1.

integral transfer is made in the presence of the vizier, it is registered in the bureau of the vizier and various officials are said to represent the vizier in the course of the ensuing litigation ⁶⁵. Afterwards the Stèle was "published" in the Karnak temple ⁶⁶.

It is this type of *imyt-pr* which the vizier must be interested in because it effects the occupancy and assets of an office in the civil administration. To run his administration properly and efficiently he must know of any pending and unexpected changes in its personnel and of any new allocation of office-dependent properties, such as fields, housing, assistant personnel etc. In the foregoing sections we noted the existence of numerous and direct contacts between the vizier and his subordinate officials. This may serve to illustrate his interest in the actual personnel occupying the pertinent offices.

Hence we interpret the present passage as: "It is to him that every *imyt-pr* (viz. those pertaining to the transfer of civil offices and office-dependent (= governmental) property) must be brought". It is concerned with a procedure assuring proper viziral control over unexpected changes in the personnel and the allocation of assets pertaining to official posts.

8. *ntf htm st* - "It is he who seals it". Every *imyt-pr* of the type described above is to be sealed by the vizier. This can only be taken to mean that he ratifies the essence of its contents, i.e. the integral transfer of an office and its assets. He lends the document final legal validity. As in R16 ⁶⁷, *htm* conveys the sense of "to seal", i.e. "to turn into a contract, to formalize, to ratify" ⁶⁸.

In section 13 (R22-R23) ⁶⁹ we will encounter the stipulation that it is the vizier who appoints the members of the magistracies in Egypt's provinces. Section 11 will appear to deal with viziral control over the allocation of office-dependent rural property ⁷⁰. The 2nd part of the present section would seem to contradict the drift of sections 11 and 13 in that it proceeds from a transmittance in the hereditary line and arranges for deviations in the system.

As we see it, in this conflation the text combines a governmental provision regulating elements of an older system of hereditary transmission of offices with a new central policy of appointing civil servants and of allocating office-dependent property.

⁶⁵ For similar cases, cf. P. Kahun I, 2, 10 (P. Kahun, Pl. XIII), and - perhaps - P. Berlin 10.470 (from the same period as the St. Juridique, the 17th dyn.), cf. Smither, JEA 34 (1948), 31-4.

⁶⁶ Cf. Menu, RdE 23 (1971), 156.

⁶⁷ See above p. 143.

⁶⁸ Cf. Hayes, PLMK, 122; 143; Seidl, *Einführung*, 22-4; Spalinger, in: *St. Westendorf*, 643 n. 46. In general, Théodoridès, RIDA 17 (1970), 157 n. 150; 160 n. 165; id., RIDA 9 (1962), 86-7; id., in: *Legacy*, 304; 309; LÄ I, 423; *Verwaltung*, 58ff.

⁶⁹ See below p. 209ff.

⁷⁰ See below p. 187ff.

The background of this peculiar blend may be found in the historical situation of the early 18th dyn. For the discussion, we refer to chapter 4.6.3.

SECTION 10 R20

Pl. 2; 6

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVII, 20; CXXI, 20
Urk IV, 1111, 8-13 | |
| II | B, 277
F, 943-5
D, 92
S, 113 | H, 35
J, 65
L, 438-9 |
| III | Berger, JEA 20 (1934), 55
GEG, § 187
GEG, § 369, 5 | R20
(partially wrong quotation)
(partially wrong quotation) |

TRANSLITERATION

R20 *ntf ʔrr s3ḥ m šdw nb; ʔr sprty nb n[t]y a) r ḏd: mnmn t3šw.n, ḥr m3.t(w) nt[y] b) st ḥr ḥtm n srw c); ʔr ḥpr, ḥr.f šd.f šdw n t3 ḏ3ḏ3t smnmnt st.*

VARIANTS

- a) A17 leaves out *nty*.
- b) Whereas A17 and W17 have *ntt*, Davies's tracing on the facsimile (Pl. 2) indicates *nty* in R20. After *m3.t(w)*, *ntt* seems preferable to *nt(y)* of R. Here we will follow the A and W copies.
- c) According to Davies' Pl. 6, plural *sr[w]* in R20, singular *sr* in A17 and W17.

TRANSLATION

R20 It is he who makes the endowment with ¹ every *šd*-field ². As for any petitioner who says: "Our boundaries are moved" ³, then one shall inspect that (i.e. whether) they (the boundaries) are under the seal of officials ⁴. If so ⁵, then he will take away the *šdw*-fields of the particular council which moved them (the boundaries) ⁶.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

We may briefly illustrate the stylized structure of the present section.

ntf ʔrr s3ḥ m šdw nb.

- 1st theme

ir sprty nb....., hr m3.t(w)... - 2nd theme
ir hpr , hr.f šd.f.... - themes 1 and 2

COMMENTARY

1. *ntf irr s3h m ...* - Two interpretations seem possible here. The group *irr s3h* may represent the Late Egyptian form of the imperfective participle of *s3h* construed with the auxiliary verb *iri*, here used in a participial statement. Or it may be considered the imperfective participle *irr* followed by the noun or the infinitive *s3h* as its object.

We have noted the preponderance of *iri* - as *irr* - in the sequence of participial statements in this last part of the text ¹. In most cases it is followed by a noun ². The analogy suggests, therefore, the second option to be preferable. This line of reasoning raises another point of discussion.

First of all, we notice the less correct form of the hieroglyph Signlist D61 with reversed "pole-tops" = Signlist D62 ³. The term in R19 is written as , *s3h*.

The verb *s3h*, usually construed with the prep. *m*, is determined by  ⁴. According to the Wb the det.  are attested but remain rare ⁵. The verb occurs in full writings or often shortened to  ⁶.

On the other hand, the noun *s3h* exactly matches the writing of R19 ⁷. The verb *s3h + m* is generally rendered as "to endow with, to allot" ⁸. It is found e.g. in the official sphere when officials are endowed with (the usufruct of) fields and cattle or (the control over) personnel. German scholars use the term "belehnen" in this respect ⁹. One of the terms used for fields thus allotted is the noun *s3h*, which is perhaps best rendered as "assigned field". ¹⁰

This information provides us theoretically with two possible renderings of *ntf irr s3h m šdw nb* in R19.

-
- 1 See above p. 173.
 - 2 A similar dilemma is found e.g. in R25: *ntf irr sdm*. See chapter 2.4.1.
 - 3 According to Gardiner, Signlist D62 is only found in the 18th dyn.
 - 4 Wb IV, 21, 15-20; FCD, 210. In the present discussion we leave out *s3h*, "to approach, to touch" (det. ).
 - 5 See last note.
 - 6 E.g., Urk IV, 2,4; 58,9; cf. 28,8; here Signlist D63 is used.
 - 7 Wb IV, 21, 21-3; FCD, 210.
 - 8 Wb IV, 21, 15-20; FCD, 210. The *m* as "m of predication" seems less likely here.
 - 9 Helck, *Mat. II*, 258; id., WG, 158; 219-20; 235; Blumenthal, ZÄS 107 (1980), 11 n. 69.
 - 10 Cf. Wb IV, 21, 21-3; Meeks, *Donations*, 646 n. 185; Helck, *Mat. II*, 258.

- 1) It is he who makes the *s3h* - field into any (type of?) *šd*-field.
 - the writing of *s3h* exactly matches *s3h*, "assigned field".
 - the prep. *m* belongs idiomatically to *iri* in the sense of "to make into, to transform etc." (or it has some other meaning).
- 2) It is he who makes the endowment with any *šd*-field.
 - *s3h* is considered a curious writing of the verb which then is the infinitive (as seen above).
 - the prep. *m* belongs idiomatically to *s3h*.

While the writing of *s3h* in R19 would favour the first option, it is evident that the second one covers the sense required. In addition, the analysis of the term *šd(w)* below will indicate that the former option would more or less amount to a tautology. Finally, it is hard to make sense of the translation of (1).

The conclusion must be that we are dealing here with an ingenious wordplay: *s3h* used as an infinitive but written as the noun, in conjunction with a term *šd(w)* that comes close to the meaning of the latter.

2. *šdw nb* - One of the many derivations of the root *šd* ¹¹ is *šd(w)* designating some sort of land and attested in a variety of writings ¹². Apart from Simpson's suggestion "brick field" ¹³, scholars have generally agreed on a meaning "plot; parcelle de terre arable" ¹⁴. Seidl's "Schenkungsland(?)" ¹⁵ was carried further by Helck. He suggested as its original meaning "Felder, die mit Hilfe eines Schadufs (*šdw*: "Schlauch") aus den Kanälen bewässert wurden" ¹⁶ and concluded that - functionally - *šd(w)* denotes a "Lehnfeld, zugewiesenes Feld" ¹⁷, viz. a plot allotted by the authorities to officials etc. to provide for their official up-keep, i.e. office-held field. All that can be said at present is that its etymology is utterly obscure. As evidenced by e.g. instances in the Kahun papyri and Peasant B1, 303, it seems to be indeed a characteristic of *šd(w)* to be "apportioned, allotted" ¹⁸.

- ¹¹ On the root *šd*, see Ward, *Orientalia* 31 (1962), 407-8; cf. Vernus, *RdE* 29 (1977), 193; Gessler-Löhr, *Seen*, 27-8. We may be dealing with a number of homophonous roots.
- ¹² Cf. e.g., FCS, 274: *šd(w)*, *šdw*; *šdyt*; cf. Vernus, *RdE* 29 (1977), 193; Gessler-Löhr, *Seen*, 27-8. Note also the variant *šdh(w)*, CLEM, 262; FECT I, 115 n. 1 (CT II, 153a; 161c).
- ¹³ P. Reisner I, 73. Rather unlikely in our context.
- ¹⁴ E.g., FCD, 274; Vernus, *RdE* 29 (1977), 193; AL I, 383.
- ¹⁵ *Einführung*, 46 with n. 214.
- ¹⁶ WG, 146.
- ¹⁷ WG, 146; 157-8; 175; *Verwaltung*, 122-3; *Mat.* II, 217; 258; LÄ II, 153. He observes a connection between *šdw*-fields and *ndsw*, "Freien" (as a social group).
- ¹⁸ P. Kahun, Pl. 22,39; 23,15; cf. P. Reisner I, 73; Smither, *JEA* 27 (1941), 75 (b). We also notice that *šd(w)* is used to designate the plot

A text which has not been used in the discussions so far is the fragmentary stela of the priest Nefer dating to the early 18th dyn. and published by Edwards¹⁹. We are informed that Nefer has moored at his *šd*, that he ploughs it and brings in corn. Then we read in a sort of general statement:

1. x+5: (); *šd.i nfr*
1. x+6: *m š3 n špr.i ḥtm n.i m ḏb3w n knn-'wy.i*.

"(). My fine *šd*-field ; in the country which I cultivate was conveyed to me by contract for my valiant-service".

The text seems to support Helck's rendering as "zugewiesenes Feld". However, it is clear that *šdw*-fields were also allotted as a reward for services rendered²⁰. It may be suggested, therefore, that *šd(w)* denotes a plot allotted by the authorities for official services to be rendered or already rendered. In both cases there is a relationship between the (present or former) office/official activities of the recipient and the status of the plot involved. In view of the absence of a suitable term we have left *šd(w)* untranslated.

In R20 we are informed that it is the vizier who makes the endowment with *šdw*-plots. As chief official of the civil administration he assigns fields of state-land to subordinate officials for services to be rendered or already rendered. We may surmise, therefore, that he kept ultimate control over the apportioning of parcels of state-owned land to state-employees. The state remained the ultimate proprietor. It had the means to reclaim its allotments under certain circumstances, as evidenced by the last sentence of the present section (see below).

It would fall outside the scope of the present study to deal with the question whether the vizier's task described here is reflected in any way in the apportioning of the "Beamten-, Abgabendomänen" of the Ramesside material, e.g. the Wilbour Papyrus²¹.

3. *mmn t3šw.n* - The verb *mmn* has been dealt with above²². *T3š* means "(shiftable) boundary", as contrasted to *ḏr*, "(unshiftable)

allotted to the deceased in the Iaru-fields, e.g., Urk IV, 116, 13 (Paheri); cf. Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 43; 52.

19 JEA 51 (1965), Pl. XI,2 ll. x+5-6; p. 25-6; Bradbury, JARCE 22 (1985), 73ff.

20 In this respect it should be noted that Nefer has been a "warrior" (*nḏs kn*) in his youth, cf. *ibid.*, p. 26 n. (n) and (t); cf. note 17 above.

21 Cf. Helck, *Mat.* II, 240-6; 254-64. See also Stuchevsky's study, cf. Janssen, BiOr (forthcoming).

22 See p. 63ff. We note the wordplay with the common *smn t3š* (see also below p. 191; 379).

boundary" ²³. It may be inferred that we are dealing here with boundaries of fields ²⁴.

A remarkable feature is that the text speaks of "our" boundaries, whereas the petitioner is presented in singular. Except for the unlikely case of a *pluralis maiestatis*, we have to conclude that the petitioner represents a group of people. It seems rather improbable that he would refer to the people on his own domain (*pr*) as "us" in plural (family, personnel, labourers etc.). More likely, he represents a local community. In this respect we may draw attention to Stuchevsky's analysis of the NK *ihwtyw* (e.g. in the P. Wilbour) as "agents of the fisc", the lowest stratum of agricultural administrators responsible for the execution of the "sowing-order" (*ts-prt*), the instruction to produce a fixed quantity of grain in a certain area ²⁵. These *ihwtyw* act on behalf of larger groups of cultivators. Perhaps, the petitioner of R20 was a *ihwty* of this type.

The illegal shifting of boundaries was considered a major offence in Egypt. Donation stelae often present formulae against such acts ²⁶ and the Book of the Dead as well as the Teachings of Amenemope contain chapters with ethical prohibitions on the theme ²⁷.

We know of two vizier's texts that present us with an epithet referring to viziral control over the establishment of boundaries.

Stela CCG 20539, Ib, 2 – MK, vizier Mentuhotep ²⁸

– *smn iswt t3šw, wpp w r snnw.f*

"(he) who establishes/confirms the boundary-marks, (he) who separates a territory from that of his neighbour (lit. of his second)".

Statue CCG 630, Inscr. C – 19th dyn., vizier Paser ²⁹

– *smn iswt t3šw, wpp w r snnw.f*

– as above.

This would suggest the vizier to be personally involved in the establishment of boundaries. However, a careful look at the statement of R20 points to a less direct type of involvement (cf. also below p. 268ff.).

It is *not* stated that the petitioner comes to the vizier with his appeal on the boundaries: *ir sprty nb r dd...* ³⁰. The case is clearly phrased in general terms and not in a personal address to the vizier

²³ For both terms, see Hornung, *Eranos Jahrbuch* 49 (1980), 393–427.

²⁴ In R27 we will find *t3š* applied to other rural units.

²⁵ See Janssen's review "Agrarian Administration in Egypt during the Twentieth Dynasty" of Stuchevsky's work, *BiOr* 43 no. 3/4 (1986), 351ff.

²⁶ Cf. Meeks, *Donations*, 608 n. 9.

²⁷ BD, Ch. 125 (RB, 117,1ff; cf. AEL II, 125); Amenemope, Ch. 6 (cf. AEL II, 151–2).

²⁸ El-Sayed, *BIFAO* 80 (1980), 220 n. (a); Meeks, *Donations*, 609 n. 11; Habachi, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 36.

²⁹ KRI III, 12,13 = El-Sayed, *BIFAO* 80 (1980), 220; he also refers (*ibid.*, n. (a)) to Paser's statue CCG 42164 for the same epithet.

³⁰ Compare R17: *ir grt sprt(f)f(y) nb n t3ty hr 3hwt!*

(as in R17). The ensuing administrative action is described as: *hr m3.t(w) nt(y)*..., and *not* as: *hr(.f) m3.f nt(y)*... It is only the final legal action that is taken personally by the vizier: *hr.f šd.f šdw*...

The following reconstruction offers itself. When a person notices a change of the boundaries of "his" fields which he considers illegal, it must be investigated whether officials are involved in the violation³¹. He cannot address the very officials who are in charge of the boundaries, the *imy-r 3hwt* and the *d3d3t nt tm3*³². As in section 8, the man must have the opportunity to bypass these authorities. His appeal is directed to their superiors, viz. the central authorities and in the final instance to the vizier.

The investigation is apparently not conducted personally by the latter. At least the text differentiates between the investigation phrased in impersonal terms and the punishment phrased in personal terms. However, as evident from the sections 4-5, in cases of official offence the vizier was involved in the interrogation (ex. R12-R13). In the present case, the precise nature of his involvement remains obscure. We can only point out the differences in phrasing and suggest that the impersonal wording indicates an intermediate stage in the inquiry when matters are investigated on the spot by a vizier's agent.

When the local authorities appear to be involved, then it is the vizier who will punish them (in accordance with sections 4-5): he is the supreme judge of officials. The viziral epithet quoted above may refer in general terms to this sort of situation.

In surveying the section up to this point we notice two distinct themes, viz. the apportioning of *šdw*-fields and the matter of the shifting of boundaries. Both themes will come together in the final sentence.

4. *hr m3.t(w) nt(y) st hr htm n srw* - We observe the impersonal phrasing of the investigation to be carried out: *hr m3.t(w)*. In our view, it indicates that the vizier is not personally involved. It could be suggested that the investigation is conducted locally by a first assistant, e.g. the *wpwty n t3ty* (compare the opening line of section 8).

Parallel to the final sentence of the section, *st* appears to refer to the boundaries (not to the act of shifting them). The clause is then rendered literally: "...then shall be inspected that they are under the seal of (the) officials". Because it concerns an investigation here, we may replace "that" by "whether" in English, indicating that the noun clause introduced by *nty* describes the aim of the investigation.

Evidently, the aim is to clarify whether the boundaries - the object of the petitioner's appeal - were "under the seal of officials", i.e. whether their new location carried official authorisation. The crucial point is to establish whether officials are involved in the (implicitly

31 Violations by non-official offenders were presumably handled locally, based on charges brought forward by the petitioner. The text is not concerned with these acts since they fall outside the official sphere.

32 See section 8, p. 153ff.

illegal) shifting.

If the argument is correct, the logical follow-up would be to assume that when no officials appear to be involved, the matter will be referred back to the *imy-r 3hwt*. It is only when officials are involved that the matter is handed over for trial and punishment to the vizier. The *imy-r 3hwt* has no legitimate power to judge his subordinate officials (cf. sections 4-5). Moreover, as evidenced by Nauri Decree ll. 50-2 ³³, he himself can be the offender.

5. *ir hpr* - A condensed way of saying: "If it turns out that officials are responsible for the illegal shifting of the petitioner's boundaries".

6. *hr.f šd.f šdw n t3 d3d3t smnmn st* - The basic sense of the verb *šd*ⁱ (det. *š*ⁱ) is "to take away, to (re)move", attested in a wide variety of derived meanings ³⁴. In conjunction with property etc. it may be rendered "to restore, to recover" ³⁵, while pertaining to taxes, rations, dues etc. it is best rendered "to collect, to exact" ³⁶. It is the context that suggests *šd*ⁱ to be used here in its basic sense "to take away". This is reinforced by the fact that *šd.f šdw* is an obvious play of words. If not used in its basic sense, the meaning of the phrase would remain equivocal even to the Egyptian mind. We therefore render: "then he shall take away the *šdw*-fields" ³⁷. The term *d3d3t* was analysed in section 8 ³⁸. The context is determined here by matters of boundaries and officials involved in their illegal manipulation. In section 8, the *d3d3t nt tm3* appeared to be concerned i.a. with the survey of fields and the establishment of boundaries. It seems likely, therefore, that we are dealing here with an abbreviation of the latter term. It follows that the aim of the investigation is to establish whether the local officials in charge, i.e. the *d3d3t nt tm3*, are involved in any way. The verb *smnmn* clearly constitutes the causativum of *nmn* (see above). Here we encounter the fourth (!) game of words in the present section: *smnmn st* as a pun on the well-known expression *smn t3š*, "to establish/confirm the boundary". Its occurrence in the Nauri Decree l.51 proves it to be a more or less fixed expression ³⁹. When the officials in charge turn out to be involved in the illegal shifting of the boundaries of fields of a local community or group, the vizier will take away the fields allotted to these officials for their official services. It is impossible to establish whether this

³³ KRI I, 53, 16ff.; Edgerton, JNES 6 (1947), 223.

³⁴ Wb IV, 560-2, FCD, 273; cf. note 11 above.

³⁵ Cf. Hayes, PLMK, 119; CLEM, 244; Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 101 n. 37.

³⁶ Cf. James, *Hekanakhte*, 19 n. 14; Janssen, SAK 3 (1975), 174-5; Gardiner, RdE 6 (1951), 120-1 (m); Kruchten, DH, 145; 233 s.v.; cf. Caminos, *Orientalia* 53 (1984), 419 (on the title *šd*, "gatherer (?)).

³⁷ For *šd*ⁱ in the sense of "to extract" something from an offender, see Gardiner's note, RdE 6 (1951), 120-1 (m). A complaint about the taking away of fields is found in P. Sallier I, 9, 3 (LEM, 87).

³⁸ See above p. 157ff.

³⁹ KRI I, 54, 2.

amounted to dismissal from the civil service. At present it is unknown whether all officials received office-dependent property to provide for their upkeep. Moreover, officials did possess private property which may have been a sufficient basis for the upkeep of an office in the civil service.

In retrospect, we can compare section 10 with section 8. The latter deals with civil disputes concerning rural affairs. The petitioner may appeal to the vizier. The vizier's only duty is to hear the parties involved and to refer the matter back for a local settlement while observing certain time-limits as prescribed by law. In section 10 we deal with a criminal affair on rural matters, *in casu* boundaries. The crucial point is here to decide whether officials are involved. We assumed the existence of an intermediate stage in the inquiry to answer that question. The investigation is organized by the central authority which overrules the local officials in charge. In the final instance the vizier will punish the official offender by withdrawing the office-dependent rural property.

One may conclude that, according to The Duties, civil disputes on rural matters remain basically a local affair, while criminal disputes only become the concern of the central government when officials are suspected of being involved. Evidently, the strain on the central bureaucracy would become crushing if every dispute had to be handled by the central authorities. On the other hand, it is up to the central government to stamp out local corruption by officials.

SECTION 11 R20 – R21

Pl. 2; 6

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVII, 20–21; CXXI, 20–21
Urk IV, 1111,14 – 1112,4 | |
| II | B, 277–8
F, 944–5
D, 92
S, 113 | H, 35
J, 65
L, 439 |
| III | Graefe, <i>Bi3</i> –, 35
Lurje, SAR, 26
Seidl, <i>Einführung</i> , 27 | R20–R21
R21, last part
R21, last part |

TRANSLITERATION

R20 *ir grt bl3t nbt iit nb(t) r.s m [m]3[.t](w)*

R21 *ht im.s, wnn.t(w) hr irt sprty nb m sšw, nn rdi̇t a) spr.f n sḋṁ b);
sṁl̇.t(w) n.f sprty nb n nb r-s3 irr.f m sšw c)*

VARIANTS

- a) W 18 has a form *rdi̇*. However, Davies could not trace it any more and marked it with x (Pl. 6). Any uncertainty is checked by the forms *[r] di̇.t(w)* and *rdi̇.t(w)* in resp. R21 and A18.
- b) While A 18 gives a simple *sḋm*, R21 has *sḋṁ*.
- c) Singular *ss* in A18.

TRANSLATION

- R20 Now, as for every mining area ¹, (viz.) every expedition thereto (lit.: any coming thereto) when the resources
- R21 therein are inspected (lit.: when thing(s) are seen therein) ², any petitioner ('s request) shall be put in writing(s) ³, without his being allowed to petition to one who (only) listens ⁴. To him (the vizier) has to be reported every petitioner to the Lord, after he (the petitioner) has put (his petition) in writing(s) ⁵.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

Section 11 appears to be full of traps created by uncertainties in the

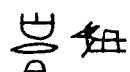
extant text copies, obscure nouns and terms, intricate and studied grammatical constructions, etc. They all tend to blur our comprehension of its contents and we are not absolutely sure of having grasped its meaning in full either. The translations given for the present section are not very useful because they show basic contradictions. So we have to draw our own line of reasoning. One problem may be settled from the start.

Breasted, Farina and Luft disconnect the final sentence from the rest of the section: *sm.t(w) n.f...m sšw*. We feel that this is incorrect.

- In our text division the theme of the petitioner of royal concern receives a unified treatment in one section, and not a dual one in two sections.
- The occurrence of the expression *iri m sš* in the final sentence suggests a parallelism with the foregoing sentence containing the same expression.
- If the final sentence were disconnected, then the remaining part of section 11 would not describe any task of the vizier.
- In our division section 12 starts with a common participial statement (*ntf sbb*). If the final sentence were disconnected, it would thus be forced to constitute an independent section between section 10 and 12, which is at least unlikely.

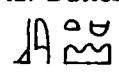
COMMENTARY

1. *bi3t nbt* - First of all we want to draw attention to a matter which has gone unrecorded in the publications of Farina and Davies. On Pl. 2; 6 Davies gives *bi3t* in R20 as: 

From the Amenemopet-version Sethe records *bi3t* in Urk IV, 1111, Varianten 24-24 (= A17) as: 

Although probably a miswriting or misinterpretation of *bi3t*, we feel that this writing needs to be recorded for completeness's sake.

In 1971 E. Graefe devoted his dissertation to the "Wortfamilie *bj3*". His analysis revealed the structure of the family that covers no less than seven pages in the Wb. However, a number of loose ends remained.

One of these is an obscure noun *bi3t*, which Graefe tentatively rendered: "Mine (?)"¹. It is attested twice, viz. Duties R20 and Urk IV, 825, 12². The writing of the latter occ. is: 

¹ Graefe, *Bi3*-, 35-6. For the variations in writing, cf. *ibid.*, p. 84ff.

² Graefe cites a "third" ex, (*ibid.*, Dok. 38, written as *bi3w*) for which he subsequently finds a different solution. See also *ibid.*, p. 165 n. 49.

Graefe suggests that *bi3t* in the latter case possibly denotes the "quartzite area" of Elephantine ³, i.e. the area where quartzite was mined.

The problems of identification centre around the curious ending *-t*, because *bi3(w) pn* is a well-known designation of the Sinai as a "mining area" ⁴: the product of the region - *bi3*, "ore, mineral"- comes to designate the area itself ⁵. Recently, Altenmüller-Moussa have pointed out that a meaning "mining area" may also be attested for Punt in the form *bi3 n Pwnt* ⁶.

Proceeding from its two occ. in the 18th dyn., we venture to consider *bi3t* a rare (NK?) allograph with ending *-t* of MK *bi3(w)*, "mining area". At present, it seems impossible to decide whether this form was inspired (in any way) by such members of the word-family *bi3* as *bi3yt*, "quartzite" ⁷, *bi3yt*, "treasure", "mineral resource" ⁸, or even *bi3yt*, "miracle" ⁹.

In themselves, these latter nouns would need to be taken into consideration here. However, in R20-R21 *bi3t nbt* is put in anticipatory emphasis with regard to two verbs that specify the required sense: *i3t nb(t) r.s m m3.t(w) ht im.s*. As far as we can see, the verbs can receive a meaningful translation only when *bi3t* is considered an area, a region, rather than a specific mineral or a noun with general or abstract meaning (see also below). Therefore, we feel that there is no real alternative to a rendering "mining area" ¹⁰.

Section 11 starts off with *ir grt bi3t nbt*. Thus every mining area is meant, the desert areas, the wadis, the Sinai, Punt, Nubia etc. The specific name and the location are apparently of no concern in our text.

2. *i3t nb(t) r.s m m3.t(w) ht im.s* - This clause must be considered a specification of *bi3t nbt* in anticipatory emphasis with *r.s* and *im.s* referring back to *bi3t* ¹¹. Therefore, we have added in our translation the introductory "viz." between brackets.

3 Ibid., p. 35-6 (Dok. 40); 154 n. 27. For *bi3yt*, "quartzite", cf. *ibid.*, p. 147-8.

4 Ibid., p. 5; 35-6; cf. Seyfried, *Beiträge*, 136.

5 For an ex. from the Wadi el-Hudi, see Graefe's Dok. 41 (*ibid.*, p. 36) where *hsmn* must mean "amethyst area" (cf. Seyfried, *Beiträge*, 135-6). For *bi3*, "ore", cf. Graefe, *Bi3-*, 26ff.

6 SAK 9 (1981), 70-1 n. 30; cf. Edel, *Beiträge zu den ägyptischen Sinaiinschriften*, Göttingen 1983, 183.

7 Graefe, *Bi3-*, 147-8. For the collective nature and the writings of the nouns with ending *-yt*, cf. *ibid.*, p. 149ff.

8 Ibid., p. 91 ff, esp. p. 96ff.

9 Ibid., p. 113ff.

10 In full recognition of the fact that *bi3t*, "mining area" in R20, is a rare noun with ending *-t* in a rare meaning and a rare orthography. The only parallel would be the more or less contemporary Elephantine inscription quoted above.

11 The construction may be compared with the ones found in the introduction to sections 5-7.

Lit., *itt nbt r.s* simply means "every coming thereto" ¹². When *bi3t* is rendered "mining area", then the sense is evident: "every expedition thereto". Any other translation of *bi3t* would obstruct such an interpretation and render it hard to find a suitable meaning for *itt nbt r.s*. The same difficulty would, moreover, apply to the next clause viz. *m m3.t(w) ht im.s*.

Although its preservation is fragmentary, Davies clearly gives the end of R20 as *m [m] 3 [.t]* with definite traces of the *t* (Pl. 2; 6). We must assume, therefore, that we are dealing with a passive form of *m33*, viz. *m3.t(w)* ¹³. Then the construction has to be: prep. *m* followed by a passive *sdm.tw.f*, i.e. *m m3.t(w) ht im.s*, lit.: "when thing(s) are seen therein".

Now, Helck suggested that *m33 ht* is a terminus technicus for "nach Edelmetall suchen" ¹⁴. His only piece of evidence is Urk IV, 505, 17, which he - in our view - interprets incorrectly ¹⁵. Generally speaking, one could certainly defend the set "to perceive > to detect" as derived aspects of *m33*. On the other hand, we have encountered *m33* twice in the meaning "to inspect, to check" ¹⁶.

The temporal clause *m m3.t(w) ht im.s* is dependent on the preceding *itt nb(t) r.s*. Therefore, the activity conveyed by the former has to be seen in a dependent temporal relationship with the latter. If we accept *bi3t* as "mining area", then one particular translation seems to be most feasible.

"Every expedition (going) thereto" (i.e. *every* mining area) would be engaged primarily in quarrying ore, minerals or stone. In view of the generalizing *nb* used twice, it would be less plausible to assume that one would be engaged in exploring every mining region in search for new quarries. The latter sense would be covered more or less when *m33* would be rendered "to see, to find out, to perceive". We prefer to proceed from the normal situation, every mining area having its known resources and being quarried, or at least having the possibility of coming into operation. Therefore, we think that the meaning of *m33* must be found in the latter context. This leads us back to the idea of an inspection of the resources of mining areas. Such an activity is likely to take place regularly and would, therefore, fit the specific context of R20-R21. Thus we propose: "as for every expedition to any mining area when its resources are inspected" (in paraphrasis).

In our view, the aim of "every expedition" is not the actual quarrying or exploration of mineral resources but the inspection of the resources available in every mining area. "Mineral wealth seems to

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- 12 For the *ii*-formula in regard to mining areas, cf. Seyfried, *Beiträge*, passim.
 13 Not recognized by e.g. Helck and Luft. The same writing of *m3.t(w)* is found in the same column, R20, section 10.
 14 *Verwaltung*, 35: § 13(a); cf. Graefe, *Bi3-*, 165 n. 47.
 15 Urk IV, 505, 17: *šs3.kwi m m33 rwdwt nb(t) bss ht*, "I am skilled in finding (lit. seeing) all (sorts of) hard stone, (in) revealing (precious) things". Obviously, Helck connects *m33* and *ht*.
 16 R16, cf. p. 143; R20, cf. p. 190.

have been the exclusive property of the pharaoh", Janssen once stated ¹⁷. Therefore, the inspection of pharaoh's property, or at least the supervision of the work involved, must have devolved upon the administration ¹⁸. This would serve to explain the vizier's involvement here without a clear definition of his task in the whole affair. As will appear below, the text concentrates on bureaucratic procedures and pinpoints in the last sentence a viziral task concerning petitioners to the pharaoh. The phrases analysed up till now present us with a context in which a special type of petitioner (on royal property) is likely to occur (see below).

3. *wnn.t(w) hr irt sprty nb m sšw* - A main clause consisting of a passive pseudo-verbal construction with futural meaning ¹⁹. It has to be rendered: "any petitioner shall be put in writing(s)". There seems to be no alternative.

Instead of what might have been expected, viz, the *hr(.f) sdm.f* construction ²⁰, here we meet a formation that remains unparalleled in the text. A definite injunctive notion is absent and it is replaced by a future sense that amounts to a vague instruction.

Most scholars quoted in the heading to the section have dealt with this rather awkward clause by emending *sprty* to *sprt* ²¹. Yet, R21 clearly gives *sprty*, recurring in the same orthography in the final sentence of the section ²². Moreover, in the next clause we find *nn rdit spr.f*, referring to a petitioner and not to a petition. We are forced to accept *sprty* and have to deal with the clause as it stands. Apparently, not the petition is put in writing but the petitioner himself. This can only be taken to indicate that his name, function, rank, department etc. would have to be recorded. It may be inferred that the petitioner is an official, the more so because it seems that only officials could have a cause to petition, in regard to mining areas and their inspection. Mineral wealth was pharaoh's property and thus only officials could have (delegated) tasks and instructions pertaining thereto or take an interest in it.

However, as we may infer from the clause that follows the one under discussion, it is also the author's intention to indicate that, at the same time, the petitioner's petition has to be duly recorded (see below). Here again, we are faced with his love for extremely concise

17 SAK 3 (1975), 154 n. 120; cf. Morenz, *Prestige-Wirtschaft*, 24; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 44ff.; id., WG, 184.

18 The vizier as the actual leader of an expedition is a rare event, cf. *Verwaltung*, 44. The task was delegated to high officials while the vizier himself held ultimate control at home, cf. Helck, WG, 183ff; Hafemann, *Altor. For.* 12 (1985), 184.

19 Cf. GEG, § 326.

20 See below p. 297.

21 So B, F, S, H, L, Graefe, Seidl, Davies and James have different options in considering the sentence a dependent clause, which is equally unlikely.

22 Therefore, Helck's remarks (*Verwaltung*, 35) do not make sense to us. For *sprty* without a determinative, see e.g. R17.

and condensed statements. Our explanation of the peculiar wording of the present clause runs as follows.

- 1) The author wants to stress that a petitioner's request will have to be handed in in writing. The petitioner is not allowed to be dealt with by one who only listens and does not draw up a document (see the next clause). We are dealing with *two* instructions.
- 2) The main clause under discussion indicates that a petition will be written down not by the petitioner himself but by some official. It contains the vague instruction to do so, intended for some official.
- 3) The following statement introduced by *nn*, qualifying the preceding one, contains a second instruction, now in the form of a prohibition. It instructs the petitioner not to address a "listener". He is forbidden to address an official who will not record his request in writing.
- 4) In view of obs. 2 above, *sprt* would have been preferable as object in the present main clause (*wnn.t(w)...*), while obs. 3 calls for *sprty* as subject in the following and related main clause (*nn rdīt...*). If the author had carried out the former point, he would have deprived himself of the possibility of connecting the two main clauses because their subjects would have differed. Moreover, he would have needed at least one more sentence to introduce the origin of the petition, viz. the petitioner. Therefore, we take it that his preference for concise and interrelated statements has induced him to take *sprty nb* as the subject-matter of both main clauses, in the conviction that the basic sense would remain clear through the use of the expression *iri m ss*, the participle *sḏm*, and esp. through the tenor of the final sentence.

To put it briefly, the curious phrasing of the present and the following clause is inspired by the author's intention to mould into one statement two instructions meant for two different people involved, but with regard to one single theme, viz. a petitioner's request. Consequently, it would seem warranted to interpret the present clause as: "any petitioner ('s request) shall be put in writing".

One point remains obscure, viz. the nature of the petition. There is no feed-back to the foregoing statements in anticipatory emphasis in the form of a resumptive element. What may turn out to be the solution will be analysed below ad *sprty nb n nb*.

4. *nn rdīt spr.f n sḏmī* – As already pointed out, we believe this statement to qualify the preceding one ²³. The qualification is phrased as a prohibition in relationship with the foregoing verbal action. A petitioner is not allowed to address a *sḏmī*, "a listener" ²⁴.

²³ Cf. GEG, § 307.

²⁴ For the participial ending *-ī* of the nominalized *sḏmī*, "hearer, listener", cf. GEG, § 357 (= p. 273-4). Alternatively, the *ī* might be interpreted as a scribal error inspired by the following *sḏmī* (compare Pl. 6: R21 and A18; Urk IV, 1112 a-a).

The implicit tenor is that such an official will indeed only *hear* and not record his petition, as instructed in the preceding clause.

We feel that *sdm* does not denote a specific functionary but first of all an attitude: "one who (only) listens"²⁵. What the petitioner needs is "one who writes down"! That is exactly what is described in the first main clause (*wnn.t(w)*...). It is reinforced by implication in this second and related statement.

5. *smi.t(w) n.f...irr.f m sšw* - We observe the wordplay in *sprty nb n nb*. *Nb* as a designation of the king also occurred in R4. There it was determined by Signlist G7. Here we find A42²⁶. The prep. *r-s3* conveys, as usual, a temporal notion²⁷.

The clause of time *r-s3 irr.f m sšw* contains a crux. In the preceding entries we concluded that a petitioner will not fashion his own petition in writing. At first sight, the present clause is to be rendered (lit.): "after he has made in writings", the exact opposite of what was to be expected. One would expect a passive form in accordance with the tenor and the construction of the first main clause above.

The crux is *irr.f*. Since a reduplicating passive *sdm.f* used after a conjunction would seem to be an impossibility, we are forced to consider different options. They proceed from an active interpretation of *irr.f*. The solution may be the distinction between *sprty nb* in the first main clause (*wnn.t(w)*...) and *sprty nb n nb* in the present one²⁸.

The present clause differs from the preceding ones in introducing the *sprty nb n nb*, "every petitioner to the Lord (in person)". We could assume *sprty nb* to be identical with *sprty nb n nb*. However, the peculiar fact remains that the vizier is not personally involved in the former's activity in the text, while in the case of *sprty nb n nb* he definitely is involved. The text continues with: "after he has made in writings".

If "he" were to pertain to the vizier, the result would be nonsense. Thus "he" has to refer to the petitioner. We could paraphrase the clause as: "after he (the petitioner) himself has put his petition in writing". In this way, an opposition emerges between procedures concerning petitioners on pharaoh's property - exemplified in mining areas and their resources (see below) - and petitioners to the Lord himself. In the case of the former, some unnamed "mediator" will record his petition in writing, while the petitioner is forbidden to

²⁵ Cf. St. Jur., ll. 8-9 (= HBT, 66). For the title *sdm*, see above p. 141ff. Most scholars prefer to render: "that the petitions orally" (so B, F, S, L, Graefe, Seidl). Curiously, Helck gives the right interpretation only to continue with the quoted translation.

²⁶ The same det. of *nb* is found in R23, R26, A29.

²⁷ GEG, § 178.

²⁸ This is the only instance of the *sprty n nb* in the text. Both types of *sprtyw* in the present section have to be distinguished from the *sprty*-theme of section 8, since the latter is of no royal concern.

address a "mediator" who (only) listens. We assume the unnamed "mediator" to be an official of the central administration. In the latter's case the vizier appears to be involved. A petitioner has to put his petition in writing. No "mediator" is implied here. Hence we may suggest that he has to accomplish this by himself, after which this type of petitioner has to be reported to the vizier.

The distinction comes down to three points: the recording of petitions, the role of mediating officials and the involvement of the vizier.

We may now turn to the general background of section 11. As we see it, two closely related themes (A and B) are presented here. The section concentrates on the differences in procedural treatment that have to be observed with regard to both themes, distinguishing a viziral task in the second one (B).

- A. 1) The first part of the section in anticipatory emphasis deals with the inspection of the resources of mining areas. Essentially, this part is concerned with pharaoh's exclusive property.
 - 2) This first part must have something to do with the two following and connected main clauses, although any resumption of its subject or reference to it is absent. It could be suggested now that the *sprty nb*'s petition concerns pharaoh's exclusive property, exemplified in general – but not resumed – in the mining areas.
 - 3) In this perspective, the subject of the mining areas is introduced to provide the author with the opportunity to deal with theme A, viz. the petitioner on pharaoh's property in general and the procedures pertaining thereto. It operates as a convenient introduction to qualify a particular theme in its setting. In this way, the absence of resumption or reference may be accounted for.
- B. In the final main clause the second theme is introduced, viz. the *sprty n nb* (theme B). As opposed to theme A, here the vizier enters the scene. He has to be informed when someone wants to appeal to the king in person. The procedure is also different. Instead of being handled by mediating officials, the petitioner has to fashion his petition in writing himself.

This is the way in which we propose to interpret section 11. It accounts – as far as possible – for its numerous peculiarities and presents a viziral task in the form of a coherent treatment of two closely related themes. If our view is acceptable, we have here a splendid illustration of the kind of detailed information provided by our text, which at the same time is impossible to substantiate from other sources in any detail.

People who petition on the widely dispersed mining areas and in general on pharaoh's exclusive property, are dealt with by the central administration (the overseer of the treasury?). Their petition has to be put in writing. People who petition to the king personally are the concern of the vizier. Apparently, it is the vizier who will act as their mediator before the king. To convey the contents of

their petition as correctly as possible, this type of petition has to be fashioned in writing by the petitioner himself. The topic(s) of both petitions are left unspecified. The text takes no interest in its topics but in its quality. Topics of royal interest are of no concern in a text concerning the duties of a vizier. What matters are procedures, to be followed by officials and vizier.

SECTION 12 R21 – R22

Pl. 2; 6

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|-----|--|----------------------------|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVII, 21–22; CXXI, 21–22
Urk IV, 1112, 5–6 | |
| II | B, 278
F, 945
D, 92
S, 113–4 | H, 35–6
J, 65
L, 439 |
| III | Valloggia, <i>Messagers</i> , 97 | R21–R22 |

TRANSLITERATION

R21 *ntf sbb wpwty nb n pr–nsw* ^{a)} *h(3)b n h3tyw–' ḥk3w–ḥwwt; ntf sbb phṛ*

R22 *'ty* ^{b)} *nb ẉdyt nbt nt pr–nsw.*

VARIANTS

- a) A18 adds *'nḥ ẉd3 snb*.
 b) While R21–R22 clearly gives *pḥrty*, W19 apparently had *sprty*. The difference can hardly be explained by referring to a misinterpretation of a hieratic "Vorlage". We follow the intact R-version.

TRANSLATION

- R21 It is he who dispatches ¹ every messenger of the palace sent to the mayors and the settlement-leaders ². It is he who dispatches everyone who will
- R22 circulate all messages of (by) the palace ³.

COMMENTARY

1. *sbb* – The third part of our text contains no less than eight occurrences of *sḅ* in a participial statement ¹. The verb has a wide

¹ R21 (2 occ.), R24 (2 occ.), R25, R26, R34, A30 (= R35).

variety of meanings ²; one of its transitive meanings is required here: "to dispatch, to conduct, to send" ³.

Hence, this particular meaning could be considered a synonym for *h3b*. However, in all eight occ. it is the vizier who "dispatches" functionaries to undertake certain actions or specific missions. One gains the strong impression that *sbi* conveys the additional notion: "to dispatch (on a mission, with some instruction)" ⁴. The verb may be rendered "to dispatch, to send", bearing in mind that it seems to be provided here with an undertone of instruction ⁵.

2. *wpwty nb n pr-nsu h(3)b n h3tyw-' h3w-hwwt* - We observe that the first part of the present section *ntf sbb...pr-nsu* finds its exact parallel in R34 ⁶. This eliminates Helck's suggestion ⁷ to consider the questionable and fragmentary *wpwt n pr-nsu* of A18 superior to *wpwty n pr-nsu* of R21: the parallel clearly gives *wpwty(w)!* R34 continues with the prep. *r* and then breaks off. This indicates that the messenger is dispatched to a particular place. Therefore, we prefer to consider *h(3)b*, in the present sentence, a perf. pass. partic., rather than e.g. a relative form (which would be difficult to explain as regards contents). For the titles *h3tyw-' h3w-hwwt*, see above p. 98ff.

R21 and R34 are the only instances where the text presents the *wpwty n pr-nsu*, "the messenger of the palace". In section 3 we have analysed the nature of the *pr-nsu* according to The Duties and the vizier's role therein ⁸. He appeared to be the managing director of the *pr-nsu* as the seat of royal government. It is not surprising, therefore, that we are informed here in R21 that it is the vizier who dispatches every messenger of the *pr-nsu*. The pertinent matter of the mission/message is conceived of in the *pr-nsu*, in theory by the king. However, the messenger will receive from the vizier his practical instructions and the order to proceed accordingly.

We feel that this type of messenger needs to be distinguished from his colleague in section 5 who was also sent on a mission (*h3b m wpwt*, R11) to the mayors and the settlement-leaders by the vizier. The latter is called *wpwty.f* (of the vizier) in R11 and is therefore his personal agent. The *wpwty n pr-nsu* of R21 and R34 is an agent of the royal government acting under the responsibility of the vizier. Ultimately, the former represents the king. It would seem warranted therefore to equate the *wpwty n pr-nsu* of The Duties with the

2 Cf. Wb III, 429-31; Erman, ZÄS 48 (1910), 31-5.

3 Wb III, 431, 8-10.

4 It seems to cover, therefore, the notion of *h3b m wpwt* found in R10. Compare *sbb m wpwt nt pr-nsu*, A30.

5 Cf. Caminos, *Osorkon*, 48-9 (a); James, *Hekanakhte*, 14 (I vo. 7), Erman, ZÄS 48 (1910), 33 (b); Spalinger, *Aspects*, 61-3.

6 Below p. 288.

7 *Verwaltung*, 35: § 13 (b).

8 See above p. 74ff.

wpwty nsw analysed by Valloggia ⁹. The typical administrative language of our text may well account for the implicit refinement of the former designation. This is reinforced by the fact that our text distinguishes between the *pr-nsw* and the king himself (*nb*), while in texts of a less specialized nature these two will largely coincide in most cases (increasingly, as time went by).

Taking section 5 and the present sentence together, we may conclude that the local urban authorities have dealings with the vizier in, at least, two distinct ways:

- as head of the central civil administration and the bureaucracy of civil servants, the vizier is their superior;
- as managing director of the *pr-nsw*, the vizier is intermediary in transmitting instructions etc. of the king to local levels of administration;
- a third type of contact, related to the last one, will be discussed in section 18.

We may surmise that royal instructions, missions etc. pertain here primarily to specific "court" matters. Local business, politics and procedures would normally come under the viziral administration and be regulated by standard provisions.

3. *ntf sbb phrty nb wdyt nbt nt pr-nsw* - There is no need here to repeat the widely diverging and conflicting translations given for the present sentence ¹⁰. They make perfectly clear that we are, again, faced with an extremely obscure statement. The basic problem resides in the meaning of the set *phrty* and *wdyt*.

Our attempt to reach an understanding will be based on the assumed existence of a *parallelismus membrorum* between the two parts of section 12, as regards structure as well as contents:

<i>ntf sbb</i>	<i>wpwty nb n pr-nsw h(3)b n X and X</i>
<i>ntf sbb</i>	<i>phrty nb wdyt nbt nt pr-nsw</i>

- The main verbal construction is the same in both parts.
- The 3rd element shows a conspicuous similarity: *wpwty nb* and *phrty nb*.
- Both parts contain the phrase *n(t) pr-nsw*.

We now elucidate the various possibilities to reach a translation of the second sentence in a schematic way.

⁹ *Messagers*, 230-74. Here we may note the interesting thematical connection with the previous section which dealt with the *sprty n nb*, "the petitioner to the Lord".

¹⁰ See the studies referred to in the heading of the section.

- 1) "It is he who dispatches every traveller (and) every journey/campaign of the palace"

phrty - The Wb and Faulkner render the term "Reisender, o.ä.; traveller" ¹¹, while admitting that it is virtually a hapax ¹². The term is clearly derived from the (trans. and intrans.) verb *phr*, "to turn around, to traverse, to circulate etc." ¹³ and the related *phrt*, "(frontier) patrol" ¹⁴. *phrty* seems to be a noun (or nominal form) ending in *-ty* ¹⁵. It may be compared with *sprty*.

wdyt - A noun meaning "campaign, journey, expedition, departure" ¹⁶, derived from *wđi*, "to depart, to go out, to send out" ¹⁷. We observe the presence of the characteristic NK form Signlist V25  and the absence of the det. 

This option no. 1 (with var.) is followed by most scholars.

- 2) "It is he who dispatches everyone who will lead around every journey/campaign of the palace".

phrty - Our first translation above involved the introduction of a near-hapax. A different approach seems possible. For a parallel we look to the verb *spr*.

In The Duties we find two different derivations of the verb *spr*, "to petition", viz. *sprtyfy* (the *sdmtyfy*-partic.) and the curious *sprty*, "petitioner" ¹⁸. The latter is used instead of the common *sprw* ¹⁹. Both *sprty* and *sprw* are basically provided with "participle"-meaning.

¹¹ Wb I, 548, 18; FCD, 94. We may note that Signlist F48  is a unique phonogram in *phr*, cf. GEG ad Signlist F48 n. 3.

¹² As the 2nd ex. the Wb quotes an inscription now published by S. Schott, *Kanais. Der Tempel Sethos I. im Wadi Mia*, Göttingen 1961, Tf. 19: B, 5; p. 143 n. 14 (cf. H.S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions*, London 1976, 51 n. 13).

The text gives , either covering *phrtyw*, or a peculiar writing



of *phrt*, "frontier patrol".

¹³ Wb I, 544-7; FCD, 93; DLE I, 181; cf. Hayes, PLMK, 120 n. 427.

¹⁴ FCD, 94; Wb I, 548, 7; Smither, JEA 31 (1945), 8 n. 6; Smith and Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 63 n. (j).

¹⁵ Cf. GEG, § 364; LGEC, § 459. For further remarks, see below.

¹⁶ Wb I, 398, 6-12; FCD, 74; DLE I, 138-9.

¹⁷ Wb I, 397, 11 - 398, 4; FCD, 74; DLE I, 137-8; Spalinger, *Aspects*, 125; 227ff.

¹⁸ E.g. R17, section 8. GEG, § 364 considers the *sprtyfy*-partic. based on the *sprty*-noun.

¹⁹ Wb IV, 104; FCD, 223. Actually an imperf. act part.

This point touches upon the problem of the supposed existence of a "prospective participle ending in *-tī*" ²⁰. In the past only Gunn seems to have dealt with the problem in detail ²¹. In his forthcoming dissertation Zonhoven considers the *-tī* morpheme the verbal basis of the *sdmtyfy*-form and ascribes it futural meaning accordingly ²². Hence it acts as an active prospective participle.

When *phrty* is interpreted along these lines, this could result in the transitive translation: "one who will circulate". In this way, *phrty* is able to acquire a direct object, viz. *wdyt nbt*, while at the same time the formal parallelism with *wpwty nb* in the preceding line is retained. In fact, Gardiner (GEG, § 364) quotes some occ. where *-tī* forms take a direct object.

- 3) "It is he who dispatches everyone who will circulate all messages of the palace".

Our third approach proceeds from the ideas set forth on *phrty* in (2) above and concentrates on *wdyt*.

When *wdyt* is interpreted as the noun "campaign, journey etc.", as in (1) above, then the absence of the det. Δ is conspicuous. As far as we know, this sign always determines the noun. We may consider two different options, both proceeding from the assumption that *wdyt* is a nominalized verb-form (partic.).

- a. *wdyt*, a participle of *wḏ*, "to order, to command".
The verb *wḏ* is 2-lit. Therefore, the ending *-y* is disturbing. The imperf. pass. partic. quite exceptionally shows this ending ²³, while the perf. pass. partic. of 2-lit verbs shows a reduplication of the last radical consonant, although forms are found without ²⁴.
- b. *wdyt*, a participle of *wḏi*, "to depart, to send out".
Since *wḏi* is 3ae inf., the ending *-y* is easily explained as the perf. pass. partic. ²⁵. The verb can convey the derived meaning "to send out a letter, a message (or the like)" ²⁶, which would here amount to "everything dispatched (by letter)". If so, the genitival adjective *nt* (*wdyt nbt nt pr-nsu*) may introduce the agent, viz. the *pr-nsu* ²⁷, resulting in

²⁰ Cf. GEG, §§ 355 Obs.; 364; 387, 2; LGEC, §§ 445; 459.

²¹ B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, Paris 1924, 40-4.

²² L.M.J. Zonhoven, *A Synchronic Approach to the sdm.t.f* (1988).

²³ GEG, § 338.

²⁴ GEG, § 360.

²⁵ GEG, § 361. The *-y* group might even be considered a full NK writing of the verb, cf. Wb I, 397.

²⁶ Cf. note 17 above and esp. Caminos, *Woe*, 55; 65. This usage comes close to the extended meaning of *h3b* as "to send (a letter)".

²⁷ GEG, § 379, 3.

"everything dispatched of (= by) the palace", i.e. "all messages of the palace".

None of the options here discussed presents us with a definite solution. However, if our assumption on the parallelism is correct, then option (3) is to be favoured.

A similarity as regards structure emerges:

- the main verbal construction is the same
- both contain a form ending in *-ty* as their object
- both objects are augmented by a perf. pass. partic.
- in both object-clauses the element *n(t) pr-nsu* designates the initiator of the action.

All in all, option 3 turns out to be an illustration of the author's love for concise, studied and stylized statements. Moreover, there emerges a clear similarity as regards contents.

In the first sentence we witness the vizier dispatching every royal messenger sent to the local authorities. In more general terms but along the same lines the second sentence conveys a similar message: "It is he who dispatches everyone who will circulate everything dispatched (in writing) of (by) the palace" ²⁸. Whenever the *pr-nsu* instructs someone to take a message of the *pr-nsu* to the world at large (to officials or otherwise), it will, in effect, be the vizier who will dispatch him in accordance with his function as managing director of the *pr-nsu*. In other words, it is the vizier who takes care of the publicity and the communication of missions and messages of the *pr-nsu*, whether they be conveyed by man (*wpwty*) or by writ (*wdyt*), whether they are meant for the civil service or for the public at large.

²⁸ A curious "parallel" for *phrty wdyt* is perhaps found in Coptos Decree R, VIII (Goedicke, KDAR, Abb. 28; p. 214-25): *ir n.k sphr wd pn*. This may be rendered: "Ensure for yourself the circulation of this order!" (cf. Volten, *Pol. Schriften*, 18), or "Ensure for yourself a copy of this order!" (cf. Edel, AG, § 624; Gunn, JEA 12 (1926), 126). The verb *sphr* can mean (1) to cause to circulate (2) to register, to copy (FCD, 223). The net effect of both interpretations is the same, viz. publicity.

SECTION 13 R22 – R23

Pl. 2; 6

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------------|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVII, 22–23; CXXI, 22–23
Urk IV, 1112, 9–11 | |
| II | B, 278
F, 946–7
D, 92
S, 114 | H, 36
J, 65
L, 439 |
| III | Gardiner–Sethe,
<i>Letters to the Dead</i> , 21–2 | R22 |

TRANSLITERATION

R22 *ntf irr nty m srwt* [ca. 1½ gr.] *šm'w t3-mḥw tp-rsy t3w-wr; smi.sn n.f*
ḥprt nb(t) m-' .sn tp 3bd 4 nb; inn.sn [n]^a .f sšw iry m-' .sn ḥn' d3d3t

R23 *.sn*

VARIANTS

- a) On Pl. 6 Davies seems to indicate that the W-version inserted the missing *n*. R22 and A19 have a haplography [*n*].*f*, as is also suggested by the parallelism with the foregoing *smi.sn n.f*.

TRANSLATION

- R22 It is he who appoints ¹ the (leading) member(s) of the magistracy [in] ² Upper and Lower Egypt ³, (in) the Thinite Nome (in) the Head of the South ⁴. It is to him that they report the matters accomplished under their charge ⁵, (at) the beginning of every four months ⁶. It is to him that they bring the pertinent documents in their charge ⁷, together with their councils ⁸.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

We may observe the stylized structure esp. in the last two sentences of the section.

ntf irr nty...t3w-wr.

<i>smi.sn n.f</i>	<i>hprt nb(t)</i>	<i>m-.sn</i>	<i>tp 3bd 4 nb</i>
<i>inn.sn [n].f</i>	<i>ss(w) iry</i>	<i>m-.sn</i>	<i>hn' d3d3t.sn</i>

The structure may be compared with the ones found in sections 12 (p. 204) and 10 (p. 185). It will prove to be similar to the structure of section 14. For further comments, see below p. 219 (section 14).

COMMENTARY

1. *ntf irr* – The verb *iri* is to be rendered here "to appoint", as in R25: *ntf irr imy-r šnt*¹. We feel that Gardiner and Sethe go astray here when they render: "he deals with..."².
2. *nty m srwt[m]* – This – sparsely attested³ – designation is treated as a title by the Wb and Helck⁴. With increasingly less reservation, Helck has concluded that the *nty m srwt* was a member of a kind of control-body of officials in the urban areas, superior to the mayors and directly responsible to the vizier⁵. We have serious doubts about his argument, although admittedly there is insufficient evidence to prove it wrong. Our main point is that we do not believe the designation to be a genuine title. This would invalidate the rest of his argument. Our criticism is based on four points.
 - 1) As far as we know, no single title in Egyptian history conforms to the model of the present designation: *nty + m + collective*.
 - 2) Grammatically it is to be interpreted as designating somebody as "member of a collective". This would amount to a title if the collective were a functional body, e.g. *knbt*. In the case of *srwt*, "magistracy, officialdom", that would be stretching the evidence (see also below, obs. 4).
 - 3) Helck's main source P. Kahun II, 1, 23–9⁶. The setting of this document is *Htp-Sesostris m3'-hrw*, (part of ?) the pyramid city of Sesostris II and seat of the nomarchs⁷. We meet the overseer of fields Mersu "in replacement of" (*m idn*)⁸ *nty m srwt*, when

¹ See below p. 250ff.

² *Letters to the Dead*, 22.

³ Sources collected by Ward, *Index*, 100 (839). Add: J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Sakkara* (1905–1906), Le Caire 1907, Pl. XIII; p. 21–2 (early MK stela of Ipi).

⁴ Wb IV, 189, 11; *Verwaltung*, 71–2.

⁵ Resp. *Verwaltung*, 71–2; *Fonti Indirette*, 67; LÄ I, 1084; III, 920.

⁶ P. Kahun, Pl. 13. Other sources (except one, cf. note 11 below) do not provide a context (cf. note 18).

⁷ Cf. *Verwaltung*, 248–50; corrected by Luft, *Oikumene* 3 (1982), 145.

⁸ A virtually unique expression, cf. Wb I, 154, 5; FCD, 35.

he questions a man (P. Kahun II, 1, 23). Later on the *nty m srwt* instructs that an oath be taken by the two people involved in the transaction (ibid., ll. 26-7). In ll. 28-9 the two persons are questioned in the presence of the *h3ty-*' and the overseer of the fields Mersu "in replacement of" *nty m srwt* ⁹. The subject of the document is an *imyt-pr* ¹⁰.

The only thing to be said is that an overseer of fields appears to replace *nty m srwt*; that the latter operates on his own behalf in ordering an oath to be taken; and that a final interrogation is witnessed by the *h3ty-*' and again by the overseer of fields "in replacement" of *nty m srwt*.

Now, a *nty m srwt* is known to operate in *Htp-Sesostris m3'-hrw* from another source quoted by Helck ¹¹, where a lector-priest in *Shm-Sesostris* (the workman's village of Illahun ¹²) is also *nty m srwt m Htp-Sesostris m3'-hrw*. Moreover, a certain *nty m srwt* Ipi appears to operate in the pyramid-complex of Merikare (*w3d-i swt-Mri-k3-r'*) ¹³.

Our impression - but no more than that - is that in P. Kahun II, 1 *nty m srwt* is a peculiar designation of some unnamed (urban) official of *Htp-Sesostris m3'-hrw* as a member of the official magistracy. Helck's contention that the *nty m srwt* constitutes a control-officer superior to the mayor is certainly overspecific and cannot be corroborated by sound evidence. The text simply does not allow such argument.

- 4) As far as we know, the designation occurs once in the NK. In col. S9 of the Inscription of Mes ¹⁴ we are informed that a priest is *nty m srwt n t3 knbt '3t* ¹⁵. There is no other way of rendering this phrase than: "a member of the magistracy of the great *knbt*". We cannot follow Helck's assertion that this NK designation is to be dissociated from its MK precursor ¹⁶.

Surveying the evidence, we cannot be absolutely sure that we are dealing with a genuine, functional title. The MK sources only seem to point to a connection with the administration of MK pyramid cities. They indicate an urban environment of a particular type. In The Duties we would expect a title or a designation to be used in such a way that its meaning can be inferred from the context and its basic MK sense. Since the latter possibility does not provide definite clues, we take the former approach.

⁹ Helck's translation (*Verwaltung*, 71) is incorrect.

¹⁰ For the term, see above p. 180ff.

¹¹ *Verwaltung*, 72 (= Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, Pl. 12, 7).

¹² Cf. Luft, *Oikumene* 3 (1982), 145.

¹³ Ref. note 3; cf. LÄ V, 6 (I owe this ref. to Drs. H.O. Willems).

¹⁴ Gardiner, *Mes*, 53 (= Gaballa, *Mose*, Pl. LXIII = KRI III, 432, 15).

¹⁵ It may be a coincidence, but here we meet again a priest as *nty m srwt*, cf. note 11 above. Ipi (ref. note 3) was also a priest.

¹⁶ *Verwaltung*, 72 n. 2.

With the Inscription of Mes as a parallel, we suggest that *nty m srwt* (in the NK) essentially means: "a member of a/the body of magistrates". The reason for its rarity lies perhaps in the very fact that it designates a person as a *sr*-member of a specific group in society, viz. *srwt*, "magistracy", whereas most texts will typify a *sr* with (a) specific title(s). That may very well be the reason for its use in The Duties which tends to characterize functionaries as belonging to specific echelons of government rather than as individual officials. In view of the argument above we prefer to take the present designation at face value. The remainder of the section provides a number of clues that can help to determine the nature of the designation in The Duties.

- *ntyw m srwt* are found all over Egypt.
- *ntyw m srwt* accomplish matters for which they are responsible to the vizier. Their accomplishments are entered on documents which they have to take to the vizier.
- *ntyw m srwt* have "councils" (of assistants) at their disposal.
- *ntyw m srwt* have to report to the vizier at the beginning of every four-month period, implying a permanent field of qualified work with varying activities.

In itself the designation could be taken to indicate that the vizier appoints every *sr* in Egypt. However, in that case the author would have said so (*ntf irr sr nb*, or the like; compare R25: *ntf irr imy-r šnt*). The foregoing list of elements would seem to limit its field of application to chief executive *srw* throughout Egypt. In conjunction with the MK argument presented above, *srwt* could be taken to mean the specific magistracy of an institution or an echelon of local government throughout Egypt. The result would be that *nty m srwt* denotes a leading member of the main magistracies in the local civil administration (and not any low-ranking, subordinate official¹⁷). In The Duties this would be the echelon comprising the mayors, the settlement-leaders, the councillors of the district, the overseers of fields (cf. chapter 3.4). Indeed the list of distinctive elements may be found to apply very well to these officials. We, therefore, assume *nty m srwt* to be a kind of generic designation of the main executive posts in Egypt's local administration¹⁸.

The occupants of these posts are said to be appointed by the vizier. This information agrees well with the tight relationships that have been found to exist in The Duties so far between the vizier and the leading echelons of his local administration. His grip on the local government and bureaucracy now appears to be based in part on his appointing the officials in charge. Through his control of the

¹⁷ It would be strange to find the vizier directly involved in their appointment.

¹⁸ When used as a "title" alone and on itself (the few preserved MK occ. are: 1 seal, 3 wall scenes, 1 coffin, 1 stela; ref. see note 3), it possibly denotes "the particular *sr* NN" as member of a particular *srwt* (indicated in the context), as opposed to simple "*sr* NN".

personnel he controls the whole system and is able to optimize its operation. This is enhanced by his legal role as chief judge of officials as analysed in sections 4, 5 and 10. It is reinforced by his additional duty of ratifying any *imyt-pr* pertaining to the transfer of a civil office and its assets, discussed in section 9.

The only other officials the vizier is said to appoint are the head of police in the bureau of the palace (*pr-nsw*) in R25, and the personnel of the '*ryt*' in R27-R28¹⁹. Since he is managing director of the *pr-nsw* and its '*ryt*', this will not come as a surprise.

After *nty m srwt* follows a lacuna of about 1½ groups. In view of the parallel quoted above (*nty m srwt m Htp-Sesostris m3'-hrw*), we restore after *srwt* plural strokes followed by the prep. *m*. Sethe (Urk IV, 1112, 9) has sitting man, plural strokes, *nw-pot*. Personal observation (1985) indicates that Sethe's proposal requires too much space.

3. *šm'w t3-mhw* - The three occ. of this designation in our text (R18, R22, R25) have two features in common:
 - *šm'w* is written with Signlist M25, a combination of M24 and M26. A parallel is found e.g. in the Decree of Horemheb²⁰.
 - the group is determined in each instance by two city-signs.
4. *tp-rsy t3w-wr* - In reading the first group as *tp-rsy* we follow Gardiner's remarks²¹. As a geographical and geopolitical designation the terms seems to emerge in the late OK or the FIP²². In the MK it is used for a specific stretch of the Upper Egyptian Nile valley²³. Its southern limit was at Elephantine, while on its northern limit opinions differ. Some regard Assiut as its northern-most town²⁴. Others take Achmim to constitute the borderline²⁵ or even Abydos²⁶. The discussion is evidently influenced by the evidence of the "Taxation"-list of Rekhmire which

¹⁹ Resp. p. 250ff. and p. 278 below.

²⁰ Kruchten, DH, 148 (col. 3); 153 n. 496. Cf. Gardiner JEA 43 (1957), 6; Vandersleyen, RdE 26 (1974), 118 n. 6.

²¹ JEA 43 (1957), 6-9. For the late OK Fischer (*Dendera*, 68 n. 276) advocates the possibility of reading *tp-šm'w*.

²² Cf. Goedicke, MIO 4 (1956), 1-10; Martin-Pardey, UPAR, 163-4; 192 n. 3. For its basic meaning in the OK, see Posener-Kriéger, *Arch.*, 32.

²³ Although somewhat outdated, one should also consult Kees, ZÄS 70 (1934), 86ff.

²⁴ Sethe, apud Gardiner JEA 43 (1957), 9; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 11; von Beckerath, UGZZ, 94; AESH, 82 n. 1; 177-8. This view is probably influenced by the evidence of Rekhmire's "Taxation"-list, on the basis of dating this to the late MK; see below.

²⁵ Hayes, PLMK, 33; 138; Helck, *Gaue*, 55; id., LÄ II, 420 (1-9 U.E. nomes).

²⁶ Gardiner, JEA 43 (1957), 9, with a "flexible" view.

we have dated to the early NK ²⁷. In the captions to its two divisions ²⁸, we are informed explicitly that *tp-rsy* – the official territory of the southern vizier – reaches from Elephantine and Bigeh to Assiut ²⁹.

That this area was considered an administrative unit in the 18th dyn. has now found further corroboration in what seems to be a comparable, but still unpublished "Taxation"-list found on *talatat* extracted from the IXth pylon at Karnak by the Centre Franco-Égyptien des Temples de Karnak ³⁰. The text consists of two parts, one dealing with fixed impositions on sanctuaries and one dealing with variable impositions on mayors and royal domains. Both types of imposition are intended for the up-keep of the "Domain of Aton in Heliopolis of the South". The list of fixed impositions on sanctuaries is arranged geographically into three parts:

- (1) sanctuaries in Lower Egypt
- (2) in Middle Egypt
- (3) in Upper Egypt.

The latter division starts in Elephantine and ends in Assiut. The area exactly matches the extensions of *tp-rsy* in the "Taxation"-list of Rekhmire. Other sources confirm that the term *tp-rsy* was used in the 18th dyn. without providing additional information ³¹.

In our col R22 *tp-rsy* is followed by *t3w-wr*, "the Thinite Nome" (8th U.E. nome) ³². In itself therefore, the group *tp-rsy t3w-wr* would

²⁷ See above section 1, p. 19 notes 41–42.

²⁸ Davies, Pl. XXIX, 1; XL, 1; p. 32–3.

²⁹ Taking the information of the two captions together; cf. Davies, 32–3; AEO I, 47; *Verwaltung*, 11.

³⁰ I would like to thank Dr. Cl. Traunecker of the CFETK for his permission to use the results of his unpublished study on the blocs and their lists. He presented the material in a lecture at the Toronto Congress (1982).

³¹ E.g. Urk IV, 80, 15; 196, 7; 765, 11. Note also the identification of the *pr-hd n tp-rsy* of Tuthmosis I–III at Karnak, cf. Jacquet, *Trésor*, 4–5. The term will recur in the TIP, e.g. Pi(anchi) Stela, l. 86 (Grimal, *Pi*, 95 = 29*); Late Period, e.g. statue BM 818 (Gardiner JEA 43 (1957), 8 with n. 4).

³² On the transition of OK *t3-wr* to *t3w-wr* and the difficult orthography of the name, see Edel, in: *St. Grapow*, 73–5; Fischer, WZKM 57 (1961), 72–7; Helck, *Gaue*, 90–1; AEO II, 36*; Megally, *Recherches*, 169–70; cf. also Martin-Pardey, UPAR. 232; Gardiner-Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, 21–2; Meeks, *Edfou*, 92–3. Gardiner/Sethe's suggestion (o.c.) to consider *t3w-wr* here "an outlying district of Egypt" (cf. FCD, 303) is to be rejected on palaeographical evidence. Similarly we cannot follow James who takes *t3w-wr* in the Hekanakhte archive as "a village or an estate" (JEA 54 (1968), 35 (s)). Or are we dealing with two homophonous names?

constitute a tautology, since in the MK as well as in the 18th dyn., the latter is part of the former (see above). Now, Helck considers the group a "technical designation", viz. "Abydos in the Head of Upper Egypt" (reading *tp-šm*)³³. We make three observations.

- 1) Helck's rendering "Abydos" of *t3w-wr* is incorrect.
- 2) Helck's label "technical designation" could apply to two types of indications which should not be confused. The first is constituted by variable groups compounded with *t3w-wr*, e.g. *t3w-wr tny / tny t3w-wr*, "This (in) the Thinite Nome" etc.³⁴. The scene of this type is restricted to the 8th U.E. nome.
- 3) The second type applies to compositions with *tp-rsy*, where various toponyms can be included, e.g.
 - a. *tp-rsy t3w-wr*, "Head of the South, the Thinite Nome", e.g. stela Leiden V 3; stela Berlin 1198; stela of Antefoker from the Wadi Gawâsis (all MK)³⁵.
 - b. *tp-rsy 3bw*, "Head of the South, Elephantine", e.g. Urk IV, 80, 15; 196, 7³⁶.
 - c. *tp-rsy w3st*, "Head of the South, Thebes", e.g. stela BM 257³⁷.

The configurations with *tp-rsy* appear to have a fixed form: *tp-rsy* + name. They seem to single out one particular area or town as being situated in the Head of the South. Therefore, we may render *tp-rsy t3w-wr*: "the Thinite Nome (in) the Head of the South". The reasons for the reference to *t3w-wr* could be twofold.

It may have been added to *tp-rsy* in a conscious attempt to imitate MK terminology (see obs. 3a above), as a high-flown but hollow archaism. However, a different hypothesis may be proposed. While certainly covering a standard MK phrase (*tp-rsy t3w-wr*), the reference to *t3w-wr* at this point might just reflect the important (military) position taken by the Abydene region at the end of the SIP and the beginning of the 18th dyn.³⁸ In another part of this study we will deal with this point in its general context³⁹.

We may now return to the main drift of this first sentence of section 13. One is informed that: "It is he who appoints the member(s) of the magistracy in Upper and Lower Egypt, (in) the Thinite Nome (in) the Head of the South", i.e. the whole of Egypt, subsequently supplemented or even specified by means of a particular stretch of the Nile valley. Now the latter unit (*tp-rsy*) comprises the area of

³³ *Verwaltung*, 36: § 15a; cf. p. 12.

³⁴ Cf. Megally, *Recherches*, 169-70. Also *t3-wr 3bdw*, "Abydos in the Thinite Nome", cf. Fischer, *Orientation*, fig. 58 col. 6; p. 142; Martin-Pardey, UPAR, 232.

³⁵ Resp. Gardiner, JEA 43 (1957), 7; Ward, *Index*, 10 (32); *Verwaltung*, 12 n. 3; Sayed, RdE 29 (1977), 171 Pl. 16b, l. 8.

³⁶ Gardiner, JEA 43 (1957), 7.

³⁷ HTBM IV, Pl. 7; cf. *Verwaltung*, 12 n. 3.

³⁸ See e.g. the recent note by Franke, JEA 71 (1985), 175-6.

³⁹ See chapter 4.3(13) and 4.6.3.

competence of the southern vizier, as analysed in section 1⁴⁰. It seems probable, therefore, that in R22 the same device is operative as in sections 1 and 8, viz. The Duties seemingly referring to the whole of Egypt as falling under the competence of *one* vizier (*šm'w t3-mḥw*), while it is actually concerned only with the area of competence of the *southern* vizier (*tp-rsy (t3w-wr)*). "Upper and Lower Egypt" lends the text a universal value; "Head of the South" pertains to the actual situation⁴¹.

Summarizing our viewpoint up to now, it is the vizier who appoints the occupants of the main executive posts in the local government of Egypt, more in particular in his own area of competence, viz. Upper Egypt (resp. Lower Egypt).

5. *ḥprt nb(t) m-'sn* - We notice the peculiar, "alphabetical" writing of *ḥprt*⁴². In section 8 the prep. *m-'* was analysed as "in someone's charge, under someone's direction" (R19)⁴³. Such meaning fits the present context perfectly and seems preferable to translating "everything accomplished by them"⁴⁴. This would lend the sentence perhaps an overly personal connotation. It gains a more general and at the same time hierarchical notion (note *d3d3t.sn*!), when *m-'* is taken as "under their charge" (for additional remarks, see below). The phrase refers to all matters carried out on instruction of the local magistrates, viz., their local policy and decision-making.
6. *tp 3bd 4 nb* - The peculiar determinative of *3bd* has been signalled above ad R18⁴⁵. The use of the noun *tp* in the present phrase may be compared with the common *tp-tr*, "the beginning of the season" (festival sphere)⁴⁶. It recurs in A26 (= R31) in the expression *tp hrw 10 nb*, "(at) the beginning of every ten days"⁴⁷. Therefore, *tp* appears to be used to mark the beginning of the main divisions in time, viz. the decade and the four-month season. We are informed that the *nty m srwt* have to report to the vizier at the beginning of every four months on the matters accomplished under their charge. We do not believe that this time-indication has anything to do with the rhythm of the natural seasons (suggesting reports on "seasonal"

⁴⁰ See above p. 19 with notes 41-2; p. 19. Below chapter 4.

⁴¹ At Uronarti Reisner found a late MK seal with the inscription: *ḥ3 n t3ty n tp-rsy*, "Vizier's office of the Head of the South", cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 95-6; Gardiner, JEA 43 (1957), 8; Hayes, PLMK, 74 n. 292; Quirke, RdE 37 (1986), 125.

⁴² See above, p. 75.

⁴³ See above, p. 169.

⁴⁴ Cf. GEG, § 178.

⁴⁵ See above, p. 162.

⁴⁶ Wb V, 270, 12-18; FCD, 298; AL I, 415; II, 411. In general, cf. Lacau-Chevrier, CH, 284 (b-c).

⁴⁷ Likewise Urk, 411, 10. FCD, 297 has a different view ("ten day "week"").

activities or the like). It would be highly peculiar for the state or its officials to refer in a general context to the sequence of seasons. The reference must be to the civil year and to regular reports made at three fixed moments in that year.

The leading members of the magistracy of local government are to inform the vizier at regular intervals on the matters accomplished under their charge. The present section thus appears to formulate a procedure that ensures that the central authorities are informed regularly on the activities of the local government. The crucial point is that the central authorities do not have to ask for it. Standard procedure prescribes a regular flow of information. It demonstrates in vivid detail the degree of centralisation and the standardized vertical relationships in the Egyptian administration. The point might well be developed further.

The form *hprt* may be considered either a perf. pass. or an imperf. pass. partic. With no ending to guide us, the context would suggest that the form is best considered as presenting the activities to have taken place in the past ⁴⁸. The result is that *ntyw m srwt* report to the vizier on the activities of the past period at the beginning of every new period, pointing to a *post factum* control by the vizier.

7. *sš[w] ỉry m-.sn* - For *ỉry*, we refer to the remarks made above ⁴⁹. The restoration *sš[w]* is inspired by the traces suggested by Davies on Pl. 2. If correct, note the invariable *ỉry*. The *sšw ỉry*, "pertinent documents" clearly relate to the foregoing *hprt*, "accomplishments" and will have contained a detailed account of their background, their enactment and their results. The parallelism with *hprt nb(t) m-.sn* ⁵⁰ suggests that the prep. *m-* is used here in the same way: "the pertinent documents (compiled) under their charge". Evidently, the local magistrates had records compiled on their instruction containing all necessary information. In addition, the phrase may refer to all kinds of additional records in their charge which were required in the process of informing the vizier. For similar local documentation, see below ad *sšw sp3t* (R26-R27).
8. *hn' d3d3t.sn* - For *d3d3t*, see the analysis in section 8 ⁵¹. Apparently, the *ntyw m srwt* have "councils" of their own, probably consisting of assistants and subordinate personnel. This suggests that the officials designated as *ntyw m srwt* are executive functionaries ⁵². No petty official would have his own *d3d3t*!

48 Especially the existence of pertinent documents (*sšw ỉry*) seems to indicate that the accomplishments have a history.
 49 See above, p. 139 with note 31.
 50 Cf. above, p. 215.
 51 See above, p. 157.
 52 We may note a MK ref. to a *d3d3t wrt tp-rsy t3-wr* in the stela of Antefoker (l. 8) from the Wadi Gawâsis, cf. Sayed, RdE 29 (1977), 172 Pl. 16b.

It turns out that the present section is dealing with two themes. First, we are informed that it is the vizier who appoints the *nty m srwt*. Next, the section formulates a procedure that ensures that the vizier receives a steady and structured flow of information on the activities of his executive officials in the local administration.

Apparently, it was not enough for the officials to report to the vizier. They had to bring the pertinent documents with them, together with their assistants who had actually carried out or supervised the works. We would like to end with two observations.

- 1) As in section 7 on the viziral control of departments ⁵³, the vizier *post factum* controls the relevant activities of his officials. In other words, they operate in a relatively autonomous way and know what they are expected to carry out without receiving prior instructions.
- 2) A verbal report appears to be insufficient. The vizier also wants to check the pertinent documentation in addition to hearing the other personnel involved. We have met with the same phenomenon in sections 6-7-8. The urge to consult the records and to hear first and second opinions not only testifies to the high degree of efficiency that has to be maintained in the bureaucracy. It also points to a strictly impartial and bureaucratic way of running the machinery of government.

⁵³ See above, p. 144ff.

SECTION 14 R23 – R24

Pl. 2; 6

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------------------|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVII, 23–24; CXXI, 23–24
Urk IV, 1112, 12–16 | |
| II | B, 278
F, 946–7
D, 92
S, 114 | H, 36
J, 65–6
L, 439 |
| III | Schulman, MRT0, 92 (31) | last sentence |

TRANSLITERATION

R23 *ntf ʾirr dmd n mš' mmmn hr šms nb m [hd] m hnt; ntf ʾirr hr-' wnn m
nłwt rst m hnw hft ddt m pr-nsu a); inn.t(w) n.f 3tw n hk3 htp (?) b)
[r] c) h3.f hn'*

R24 *d3d3t nt mš' r rdīt n.sn tp-rd n mš'.*

VARIANTS

- a) A20 adds '*nh wd3 snb*.
- b) On the orthography and interpretation of the group *hk3 htp (?)*, in both R23 and A20, see below p. 224ff.
- c) The prep. is missing from R23 but is preserved in A20.

TRANSLATION

- R23 It is he who assembles (lit.: makes the total of) the army contingent ¹ that escorts the Lord ² when[sailing downstream] and upstream ³. It is he who organizes the remainder (of the army) that stays behind in the Southern City and in the Residence ⁴ according to what has been said in the palace ⁵. It is to him, [to] his office, that the captain of the Ruler's crew ⁶ and
- R24 the army staff ⁷ have to be brought, in order that they be given the instruction of the army ⁸.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

Again we notice the stylized structure of the section.

ntf irr dmd n mš' mnmn hr šms nb m hd m hnt
ntf irr hr-' wnn m niwt rst m hnw hft ddt m pr-nsu

inn.t(w) n.f ... r h3 f ... mš'.

The section consists of two emphatic participial statements and one emphatic form (2:1). The first two display a similar grammatical structure. Section 13 appeared to show a similar division but in the ratio 1:2. There the last two sentences displayed a similar structure (see above, p. 209) ¹. Hence, from a formal point of view, sections 13-14 may be isolated as belonging together.

COMMENTARY

1. *ntf irr dmd n mš'* - In view of the following genitival *n*, *dmd* has to be considered a noun ². The term seems to remain unparalleled with reference to *mš'* (or the like) ³. Lit. the phrase means "the total/the sum of the *mš'*". Now, *mš'* may be defined in a "military" as well as in a "civil" sense (although it is often hard to distinguish between the two). Moreover, as also suggested by the parallelism (see above), we have to include in the discussion the following term *hr-'*, which is rendered "the remaining part, the remainder" in anticipation of the entry below.
- 1) *mš'*, "army". In the participial qualification following *dmd n mš'*, the phrase is narrowed down to a specific part of the army, viz. a part that will escort the Lord (*mnmn hr šms nb*). Thus the phrase would seem to amount to an "army contingent" ⁴, since it is inconceivable that the whole army would be charged with the escort. We would appear to be dealing with a military contingent selected for the specific purpose (in the manner of our "special task force"). The term *hr-'*, "remainder" is then considered the remaining part of the army (as opposed to the escorting contingent). It stays back in the southern city and the residence, perhaps as a sort of urban garrison ⁵.

1 This feature already appeared in section 12, but this was found to consist of only two sentences, p. 204.

2 Thus conforming to a pattern previously established, cf. p. 298. The infinitive would not allow an *n*.

3 Cf. Wb V, 460, 9; FCD, 313. We observe that plural *dmdw*, "crowd" and the collective *dmd(y/w)t*, "assembly" apparently do occur in comparable contexts, cf. Wb V, 461, 12-13; FCD, 313; AL I-III s.v.

4 Compare German "Heeresgruppe". Note in this respect *dmdwy*, "the two parties" in a dispute, CT VI, 309a (FECT, 247; 248 n. 3). Although denied by Schulman (MRTD, 10ff), e.g. Breasted, Faulkner and Christophe have maintained that *mš'* can designate an "army division" in some contexts (for ref., see Schulman, o.c.).

5 For the evaluation, see below p. 221ff.

- 2) *mš'*, "expedition-group" (non-military). Vandersleyen in particular has called attention to this meaning⁶. Hence we would be dealing with "the total (group) of the expedition" that will escort the Lord. As attractive as this may seem, we run into difficulties. If our suggestion on the parallelism between *dmd n mš'* and *hr-* is correct⁷, then a civil sense of *mš'* would render it hard to translate *hr-* in a satisfying way ("the remainder (of the expedition)"?). Moreover, in the last sentence we will encounter the *3tw n tt-hk3*, the *d3d3t nt mš'* and *tp-rd n mš'*. Their interpretation in a civil sense would also become difficult.

It seems evident that the military interpretation is to be preferred. At the same time, we want to stress that in opting for a military interpretation, we do not regard *mš'* in exactly the same terms as our "army". *mš'* clearly covers more. In contrast to our modern term "army", Egyptian *mš'* in its military sense was much less a specialized, military body or a fighting unit. It served special purposes but its background was not specialized in that it incorporated both soldiers and civilians, officers and civil officials, dignitaries of the court, even priests. Members of the top echelons of the society could serve both the army staff as well as the central civil administration. Military functions were part of a general *cursus honorum*, they were not a *cursus* in itself. We feel that the modern distinction between the military and the non-military is not valid for the multifunctional approach of the Egyptians. Consequently, the military sense of *mš'* should be taken in the broadest sense possible. Bearing this in mind, we feel justified to use the terms "army" and "military" in the discussion below.

The present sentence informs us that it is the vizier who assembles (*irr dmd*) the army contingent that will escort the Lord. Obviously, in this particular situation he could draw on the military using powers delegated to him by the King⁸. The underlying explanation is that – as managing director of the *pr-nsu* – he is chief responsible for the execution of royal instructions originating from the *pr-nsu*.

2. *mmmn hr šms nb* – The verb *mmmn* was analysed above⁹. It is constructed here as a participle depending on *mš'*, followed by the infinitive *šms* introduced by *hr* to express a concomitant circumstance¹⁰. Both *mmmn* and *šms* basically are verbs of motion.

⁶ Amosis, 177–89.

⁷ An additional argument of a different nature will be found below, p. 223.

⁸ See below ad *hft ddt m pr-nsu*, p. 223.

⁹ See p. 63ff.

¹⁰ Cf. GEG, § 304, 1. The alternative is to regard *šms* as a noun in the well-known expression *hr-šms*, "(X) in escort of..." (cf. Helck, ZÄS 81 (1956), 86; Kruchten, DH, 110 n. 370). However, we lack the determinatives pointing in that direction (e.g. *šms*). Also the parallelism with following *wnn* suggests a participle.

In addition, *šms* covers the notion of "to accompany, to escort, to serve" etc. For this reason, we have limited the sense of both verbs to "to escort", *mmmn* providing the sense of motion and *šms* the sense of company, protection and escort ¹¹.

3. *m[h_d] m hnt* - The restoration *h_d* seems certain in view of the faint traces of a ship-determinative following the lacuna on Pl. 2, and its combination with *m hnt*. We may note the determinative Signlist P1 (boat with hut and rudder) of *hnt* instead of the usual P2 (ship under sail) ¹². The expression *m h_d m hnt* is too well-known to require further comment ¹³.
We render it in its basic sense "to sail south and north", instead of the more general "to travel south and north", because of the fleet officer (*3tw n tt-hk3*) mentioned later on. Apparently, the general tenor of the section entails naval operations.
4. *ntf irr hr-' wnn m niwt rst m hnw* - According to the Wb the term *hr-* in the present orthography is a hapax legomenon ¹⁴. Faulkner notes a second ex. at Beni Hassan ¹⁵. The term is clearly related to the collective *hrt-*, "remainder, arrears" ¹⁶, from which it seems to derive the plural lines and the determination by means of the "bad-bird" (G37) ¹⁷. The ellipse of the *t* may be traced back to the OK ¹⁸. It seems warranted to treat *hr-* as a defective writing or rare allograph of *hrt-*. Parallel to *mmmn* in the previous sentence, *wnn* is a durative participle here covering the notion of "staying (behind)".
Above we pointed out already that we consider the interpretation of *hr-* to be related to that of *dmd n mš'*, i.e. we take *hr-* to designate "the remaining part (of the army)". It is stated that this part stays (behind) in the southern city and the residence ¹⁹. It would seem to

11 For *šms nb* as a topos, cf. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen*, 342-3; Faulkner, JEA 39 (1953), 38-9; Koenig, in: *Hom. Sauneron I*, 205-6 (s); Hodjash-Berlev, *Alt. Forsch. III* (1975), 8-9; Yoyotte-López, *BiOr* 26 (1969), 10; Valloggia, *Messagers*, 215 ff.

12 Perhaps an OK feature, cf. Wb III, 309. MK ex.: Sinuhe B.94 (Blackman, MES, 24); NK ex.: Horemheb Decree, l. 28 (Kruchten, DH, 96); Urk IV, 719, 9.

13 Cf. AEO I, 160*-2*. We may notice that in the late 18th dyn. the expression could be treated as a noun, cf. Kruchten, DH, 102.

14 Wb III, 134, 8.

15 FCD, 175 citing BH I, 8, 21.

16 Wb III, 134, 2-3; FCD, 175; Posener-Kriéger, *Arch.*, 213-4. See also below the next entry.

17 Cf. Posener-Kriéger, *Arch.*, 214 n.1.

18 Ibid., p. 213-4; cf. p. 358 n. 3.

19 Thus it seems that the "remaining part" was structurally divided into two army groups. The actual escort will have been selected from one of these, depending on the particular centre from which the King was to leave. See also below note 27.

be considered a sort of urban garrison, in the absence of the King. The evidence for the existence of such garrisons in Egypt itself is slim but definite - in our view. Schulman doubts whether they existed at all ²⁰. Helck holds a more positive view ²¹. His main piece of evidence is the Decree of Antef from the 17th dyn. mentioning "commander" (*ṯsw*) and "army" (*mš*) of Coptos ²². Recently, Franke has briefly discussed a stela from Abydos (Louvre E.13057), mentioning the "garrison" of Abydos ²³. This stela appears to be using the (later on, common) term *ṯw'yt*, "garrison" ²⁴. Interestingly, the stela dates also to the 17th dyn. Our text dates to a slightly later period ²⁵. Hence, the existence of garrisons seems to be established for this particular period.

This is not to say that the part of the army staying back *was* an urban garrison. It only seems to function as one in the absence of the King. Probably, it had to ensure the safety and protection of the governmental centres ²⁶.

The result of the analysis up to this point is that we are confronted with two divisions of one single unit, viz. the army ²⁷. One part will escort the Lord, one part will stay back. All in all we gain the definite impression that we are dealing with a standing army, organized on a national basis and handled as a single body according to the requirements of a situation. If so, the historical background and framework of the present section must be found in the NK ²⁸.

5. *ḥft ddt m pr-nsu* - This clause may be considered as pertaining not only to the foregoing sentence, but actually to the whole section up to this point ²⁹. For further comments, see below.

²⁰ MRTO, 18 (22), citing two possible examples.

²¹ LÄ IV, 131; cf. Faulkner, JEA 39 (1953), 44.

²² Cf. Helck, HBT, 73; Lorton, TC, 19-22.

²³ JEA 71 (1985), 176.

²⁴ The 1st occ. is found in the Semna Dispatches, written as *ṯwyt* (Smither, JEA 31 (1945), Pl. IV, 12; V, 3). For the term, see Schulman, MRTO, 17-8; Faulkner, JEA 39 (1953), 44; Redford, JAOS 99 (1979), 274 n. 67. For the MK we may refer to Berlev's analysis of the title *ṯw n nṯwt*, "commander of the urban forces" (RdE 23 (1971), 23-48). The latter do not constitute a standing army *strictu sensu*.

²⁵ See Chapter 4.

²⁶ Perhaps we may take this information as pointing to a period of (still) unstable conditions when the absence of the Lord called for a military force keeping watch over the centres. See Chapter 4.

²⁷ Cf. above note 19. We are strongly reminded of the twofold division of the army attested as early as Tuthmosis III and Horemheb (cf. Kruchten, DH, 45-6). One division was stationed in the North, the other in the South.

²⁸ Cf. Faulkner, JEA 39 (1953), 41ff; AESH, 206. For the historical implications I refer to Chapter 4.

²⁹ We note the form *ddt* without reduplication, cf. GEG, § 360.

Surveying this first part of the section we may call attention to two points.

- 1) We witness the vizier as coordinator of an operation with two main and interrelated aspects. The occasion is one of the regular journeys of the King in Egypt, be it for religious, administrative or political reasons³⁰. He acts upon instruction of the *pr-nsw*. The first aspect is that he assembles the military forces to escort the Lord. His selection will have been based on his knowledge of the requirements of the particular trip. The second aspect is that he has to organize the remaining part of the army and has to assign it to its tasks in the governmental centres. We are not informed on its specific duties, but we may assume that it was engaged in i.a. the safeguarding of the centres and in the continuation of ongoing operations. All this requires expert knowledge and experience on the part of the vizier. If both aspects are not synchronized with each other, the whole organisation will be crippled and neither aspects will work out in the way intended. The task comes down to managerial expertise, control over personnel and logistics, planning and efficient organisation. This leads us to a second observation.
- 2) For a long time we have been puzzled by the two terms *dmḏ* and *ḥr-* in this section. Once it is realized that both stem from the realm of accountancy, things come together³¹. Their common background is an additional argument for assuming a relationship between the two in The Duties. It then becomes clear that the organisation outlined above under (1) is emphasized in an administrative way by the author through the use of these very terms. He stresses the selection involved, the registration and the listing of both types of personnel needed, viz. all the necessary administrative work involved and carried out under the supervision of the vizier. In transposing the terms from the sphere of accountancy to the event under discussion, the author indicates by implication that the vizier is able to cope with both: he is the man who will attend to all requirements in perfect detail. He is, indeed, the top administrator as well as the top manager, not only in civil matters but also in "military" business.

By way of conclusion we may observe that we are - once again - dealing with two terms that appear to have been used intentionally by the author in their basic sense. Once again misapprehension of the text's meaning appears to originate from our faulty knowledge, not

30 E.g. the entry on the (abuses during the) journeys of Tuthmosis III and Horemheb noted in the latter's Decree, ll. 27-31, cf. Kruchten, DH, 96-114. In the particular history of Ahmose's reign, the journeys may have had military aims, see chapter 4.

31 For *dmḏ*, see e.g. Posener-Kriéger, *Arch.*, 215-8; Megally, *Recherches*, 47-9; id., *Notions*, 119-21. For *ḥr(t)-*, see e.g. Posener-Kriéger, o.c., 213-4; *P. Reisner I*, 83.

the author's ³².

6. ²*inn.t(w) n.f 3tw n hk3 htp (?) [r] h3.f* - This is the way in which the sentence confronts us at present. The prep. *r* is preserved in A20. As will be seen below, we have to assume a text corruption at this point in order to reach an understanding of its tenor and meaning. We observe that ²*inn.t(w)* is an emphatic form (as in R19 ³³). This will be of relevance below.
An attempt to solve the problems concentrates at this point on what is preserved as *hk3 htp (?)* in the copies. The discussion is organized in a schematic way according to the various possibilities.

- 1) *3tw n hk3 htp [r] h3.f*

The clause is taken at face value, with or without the inclusion of the prep. *r*.

The group *3tw n hk3* is known as an extremely rare MK abbreviation of the common *3tw n tt-hk3* ³⁴. The writing of *htp* in R23 with two plural strokes instead of phonetic complement *p* may be corrected from A20. It will be found that the resulting sentence is extremely difficult to render in a way that would seem to make sense ³⁵.

- 2) *3tw n wdhw-hk3 [r] h3.f*

Helck was the first to notice the possibility of a corruption here ³⁶. He suggested that the original version gave the title *3tw n wdhw-hk3* ³⁷, *wdhw* being written with a combination of Signlist R1 and R3. He then assumed a hieratic misinterpretation of R1/3 into R4, the *htp*-sign, resulting in the configuration *htp [r] h3.f*, "der sich in seiner Halle befindet" ³⁸, as the corrupted and later interpretation.

We tend to follow Helck's idea of a corruption. However, his suggestion of a hieratic misinterpretation seems hardly convincing. In hieratic Signlist R1-R3 are taken together. The hieratic distinction between this group and Signlist R4 (*htp*) is especially marked in the three-curved-lines top of R1-R3 and the two-lines top of R4, and in particular by the multi-curved lower part of R4 as opposed to the straight-line lower part of R1-R3 ³⁹. A hieratic misinterpretation is quite improbable. We

³² See e.g. Davies' troubles with the term *hr-*' (p. 92 n. 66).

³³ See above, p. 179; cf. below note 44.

³⁴ Berlev, RdE 23 (1971), 32-3 citing two ex.

³⁵ We refer to the studies quoted in the section-heading (except H).

³⁶ *Verwaltung*, 36; 42.

³⁷ See however, *ibid.*, p. 260 n. 7 where he reads *3tw n tt-hk3*; cf. below n. 41.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³⁹ Signlist R1-R3: Möller, *Pal. I-II*, no. 551; Megally, *Variations*, Pl. XV a. Signlist R4: Möller, *o.c.*, no. 552. See also *P. Reisner I*, 100 (R): R1-R3 lack the objects on top of the table but are still distinguishable from the following R4.

must find another solution.

3) $3\bar{t}w \ n \ \bar{t}t\text{-}h\bar{k}3 \ [r] \ h3.f$

The elements $3\bar{t}w$ and $h\bar{k}3$ are strongly reminiscent of the title $3\bar{t}w \ n \ \bar{t}t\text{-}h\bar{k}3$. There are numerous ex. where the element $\bar{t}t$ is written after $h\bar{k}3$ (as in our col. R23) ⁴⁰. $\bar{t}t$ is usually written with  (the table of Signlist R3 without objects on it) ⁴¹. Now, there are writings with a phonetic complement t and k (of $h\bar{k}3$), in $\bar{t}t\text{-}h\bar{k}3$, placed "on top" of the table ⁴². These writings could easily have led to a mistaken reading of the form as $h\bar{t}p$ (in itself an offering stone).

Following this line of argument, a simple solution to the problem seems to be, therefore, to assume a hieroglyphic misinterpretation ⁴³ involving reading $3\bar{t}w \ n \ \bar{t}t\text{-}h\bar{k}3$ as $3\bar{t}w \ n \ h\bar{k}3 \ h\bar{t}p$, this resulting in a disconnection of $\bar{t}t/h\bar{t}p$ from $h\bar{k}3$, which leads to the configuration $h\bar{t}p \ r \ h3.f$.

Now that we have established what probably has been the original text, we may explain the phrase $r \ h3.f$ (A20) as an adverbial adjunct which receives full emphasis by means of the emphatic form $inn.t(w)$: "it is to him (the vizier), in particular to his office, that..." ⁴⁴. Evidently, stress is laid on the particular situation that military officers have to come to him in his bureau to receive instructions. Further elaborations of this point will be found at the end of the commentary.

With the original version as reconstructed under (3) above, the clause appears to suit the military sense that seems to be required here.

All studies on the present phrase up to 1971 proceeded from an "economic" interpretation of the title $3\bar{t}w \ n \ \bar{t}t\text{-}h\bar{k}3$ (additionally hampered by the corruption) ⁴⁵. Berlev has extensively studied the title and makes perfectly clear that we are dealing with the "captain of the crew of the Ruler", viz. the captain of the riverine fleet, the

⁴⁰ Ex. Edwards, JEA 51 (1965), 27; Stel. Jur., ll. 4, 13, 14 (Helck, HBT, 65).

⁴¹ There are also ex. where $\bar{t}t$ is written with Signlist R2 (high table on pole with slices of bread), e.g. Stel. Jur., l. 4 (Helck, HBT, 65); Zába, RILN, 161 (150).

⁴² E.g. Edwards, JEA 51 (1965), 27. The evidence suggests that such writings are restricted to hieroglyphic texts.

⁴³ Faulkner, JEA 39 (1953), 42 n. 1 speaks of a confusion. Cf. in general, Van den Boorn, Date, 370 n. 10.

⁴⁴ The phrase $r \ h3.f$ receives the full emphasis as compared with $n.f$ (which acted as adverbial adjunct in R19, cf. note 33). We have attempted to convey this particular notion into proper English. For this type of formation, see F. Junge, XVIII. *Deutscher Orientalistentag*, ZDMG Suppl. II (Wiesbaden 1974), 33-41.

⁴⁵ See the ref. in the section heading. Even Schulman, MRTO, 92 (31) misses the point. Faulkner, JEA 39 (1953), 42 n. 1 was on the right track. Helck, GM 18 (1975), 26 persists in his economic interpretation.

chief naval officer ⁴⁶. Accordingly, it is the captain of the riverine fleet who has to be taken to the vizier. This fits in with the following d3d3t nt mš' ⁴⁷.

We may observe that, although 3tw n tt-hk3 has a definite MK background, the title occurs right up to the end of the SIP as attested by the Stèle Juridique ⁴⁸.

7. d3d3t nt mš' - For d3d3t, see above ⁴⁹. Evidently, "army staff" here denotes the assembly of chief army officers ⁵⁰ heading the two main army divisions and the various auxiliary troops ⁵¹. According to the Wb the term is unique with reference to the mš'. The best parallels to the present situation are perhaps afforded by the well-known consultation of Tuthmosis III with his army commanders before entering the Aruna Pass in the Annals, and by Kamose's staff (d3d3t) ⁵².
8. tp-rd n mš' - The term tp-rd was studied above ⁵³. The phrase tp-rd n mš' is not to be considered a sort of terminus technicus, since - as far as we know - it remains unparalleled ⁵⁴. Its meaning here is obvious. In general it denotes instructions issued to the officers which pertain to the tasks of the army, viz. the actual escort division as well as the part staying behind. It involved aims, strategy, logistics, personnel etc. The question is whether the present statement is concerned with all types of military activities or only with a particular one. Is the vizier always involved in issuing instructions to the military or just in this particular case? The answer is found in a general survey of the section.

⁴⁶ Berlev, *Palestinskii Sbornik* 17 (1957), 6-20 (in Russian; the translation follows AEB 67067). See also id., RdE 23 (1971), 23-48. Cf. LÄ V, 605. For 3tw (instead of w'rtw), see Posener, RdE 15 (1963), 127-8; Fischer, CN, 109-110; 142; Berlev, RdE 23 (1971), 31-41; Wild, BIFAO 69 (1971), 117-21; Franke, GM 83 (1984), 115 (ad Ward, *Index*); Borghouts, in: *Gleanings DeM*, 83 n. 32. For tt, "(meal)table, household, staff, etc.", see Gardiner, JEA 24 (1938), 170-1; 179; James, *Hekanakhte*, 44 n. 55; P. Reisner II, 21 (o).

⁴⁷ As already established by Berlev, RdE 23 (1971), 41 (9).

⁴⁸ Stel. Jur., ll. 4, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 27 (Lacau, *St. Jur.*, pass.; Helck, HBT, 65ff.).

⁴⁹ See p. 157ff.

⁵⁰ So also Berlev, RdE 23 (1971), 41; Faulkner, JEA 39 (1953), 42; Schulman, MRT0, 92 (31).

⁵¹ For the divisions, cf. Schulman, MRT0, 10ff.

⁵² Urk IV, 649, 4. The commanders are simply called mš'. We observe that before taking action, Kamose consults his d3d3t. Interestingly, it is explicitly stated that this council consists of srw, cf. Smith and Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 62 (b); Spalinger, *Aspects*, 35-7.

⁵³ See p. 15ff.

⁵⁴ Cf. Wb V, 288, 6.

Section 14 appears to consist of two parts which follow its formal structure (p. 219). Part 1 presents the vizier as making the necessary arrangements for a journey of the King in Egypt. He is instructed to organize the escort as well as the forces that stay behind. All this he accomplishes on explicit orders of the *pr-nsu*. Part 2 informs us – emphatically – that the officers in charge of the riverine fleet and the army have to be taken to *him personally in his office* to receive their instructions. We have reason to assume to part 1 and 2 are connected.

- 1) There are no sources available attesting a role of the vizier as actual functioning head of the army or as commander in chief ⁵⁵.
- 2) We observe the mentioning of the *3t w n tt-ḥk3* in part 2 which may be seen in conjunction with the basic meaning of *ḥd ḥnt* in part 1. If not seen in conjunction, his separate occurrence is exceptional. Usually he is included in the collective of top officers.
- 3) Part 2 uses the special emphatic form *inn.t(w) n.f...r ḥ3.f*. The emphasis placed on this procedure suggests in fact that we are dealing with an special situation (= part 1).

The obvious result is that we should not draw hasty conclusions as to a military role of the vizier ⁵⁶. Part 1 and 2 are clearly related. Hence the instructions issued in part 2 must be seen in conjunction with the occasion referred to in 1. They pertain only to the escort and probably to arrangements in the governmental centres. It might even be maintained that he is not issuing orders on his own account but just passes on orders received from the *pr-nsu*, since the whole operation is initiated by the *pr-nsu*. Everything comes back to his function as managing director of the *pr-nsu*. Section 14 is concerned only with a specific aspect of this task pertaining to a specific occasion.

What is remarkable, seen from a modern perspective, is that the chief civil official appears to organize and coordinate an enterprise involving the military. Although, generally speaking, the operation does not seem to be motivated by war or military threat but involves a peaceful mission, it still brings the military under the supervision of a civil servant. However, when the topic is set against the background of Ahmose's reign (cf. chapter 4), the operation may have been governed by military aims to a certain extent.

All in all, the present section appears to be an illustration of our general remarks on *ms'* above. The armed forces of Egypt were not an independent monolith, isolated as a separate service of the state.

55 The vizier is known to have been engaged in warfare occasionally, cf. Gardiner, *Kadesh*, 37. However, see below section 17–18.

56 Faulkner's designation of the vizier as "Minister for War" is, therefore, certainly incorrect (JEA 39 (1953), 42).

They were integrated into the state's machinery and, by definition therefore, they could be managed – when needed – by "non-military" personnel carrying out "military" tasks ⁵⁷. One such occasion is described here. The non-existence of any fundamental distinction between the military and the non-military spheres will be illustrated again in sections 17 and 18 where we are informed on other "military" tasks of the vizier.

⁵⁷ See e.g. note 52, on Kamose's army staf (*d3d3t*) consisting of *srw*.

SECTION 15 R24

Pl. 2; 6

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------------------------|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVII, 24; CXXI, 24
Urk IV, 1113, 1-2 | |
| II | B, 278
F, 946-7
D, 92
S, 114 | H, 36
J, 66
L, 439 |
| III | — | |

TRANSLITERATION

R24 *ĩmy grt 'k ĩ3t nbt ĥ3t-r ĩ3t nt nfryt r ĥ3 n t3ty r nd-ħr snnw.f*

TRANSLATION

R24 Now, let ¹ every official ² – starting with the lowest ranking ³ – enter the bureau of the vizier to pay his respects ⁴ to his colleague (the vizier) ⁵.

COMMENTARY

- ¹ *ĩmĩ grt 'k* – As in section 11, *grt* is used to introduce a section that shows considerable deviation from the standard pattern of Part 3 of the text which consists basically of a string of participial statements ¹. One deviation is of course the fact that the present section has the form of a single imperative. However, the analysis will show that the present section is unique in virtually every aspect. At the end of the commentary we will deal with this matter in its general context. The imperative is written as *ĩmĩ* with the typical doubling of the *m*-bird ². In translating *ĩmĩ* one could waver between an exhortation ("Let...") and an injunction ("Make sure...; Cause..."). Since the present section is not explicitly concerned with a duty of the vizier ³ but addresses every official in general, we favour the first possibility.

¹ See above, p. 193.

² Cf. GEG, § 336 (18th dyn.).

³ If it had been the vizier's duty to summon every official, we feel that the author would have used the usual participial statement.

2. *ī3t nbt* - It is evident that *ī3t*, "office" by implication designates here its occupant "official" ⁴; he enters the bureau and greets his colleague. In theory, the term could apply to any functionary.
3. *h3t-r ī3t nt nfryt* - The extremely rare compound prep. *h3t-r* literally means "the front at...; the beginning at..." ⁵. Its translation, therefore, amounts to "starting with...". It is quite interesting to observe that - with the exception of James - all studies referred to in the heading of the section deal with the passage as if *ī3t nbt h3t-r* and *ī3t nt nfryt* were inverted in some way, and render: "every official, from the highest down to the lowest" (with *varr.*). Unless we assume a corruption, there is no way of interpreting the line as a direct parallel to *sr m-š3'-m sr tpy nfryt r sr n nfryt*, found in R10 ⁶. The net result of both types of formulation remains of course the same.
 Apart from a certain preference for literary variation, the use of the prep. *h3t-r* testifies to the author's wish to stress that indeed *all* officials are to enter the vizier's bureau with no hierarchical exceptions.
4. *nd-hr* - A compound verb usually rendered "to greet, to pay one's respect", and exceedingly common in respectful salutations and speeches addressed to superiors, e.g. hymns ⁷.
5. *snnw.f* - Apart from the present occ., two more occ. in our text may be noted: R2 and R27. The orthography is consistently $\frac{11}{10}$, *snnw*, and points to the ordinal number "second" ⁸. It transpires from the three occ. that we are fact dealing with *sn(n)w*, "companion, fellow, colleague" ⁹, written as the ordinal with its literal sense.

Although the commentary to this section can be kept brief, its interpretation raises problems. In the form of a simple imperative we are informed that each and every official has to enter the bureau of the vizier to greet his colleague, without the explicit definition of a viziral task. The main point is to decide on the meaning of "to greet his colleague" and to answer the question why this has to happen in the vizier's bureau.

- 1) "Colleague" could refer to an official of equal rank. This option would seem rather unlikely since it would not explain why the colleagues are invited or have to come to the vizier's bureau to

⁴ Cf. Posener, *Enseignement*, 38 (1); FCD, 7.

⁵ Cf. GEG, § 179 B, LGEC, § 534, 3; FCD, 162. Their only other ex. is stela Louvre C 14, 14.

⁶ See above, p. 90.

⁷ Wb II, 372, 8-23; FCD, 144; DLE II, 42. See also Griffiths, JEA 37 (1951), 36-7; Grimal, *Pi*, 76-7 n. 216; Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen*, 323. For the related *nd-hrt*, see above, p. 56.

⁸ Cf. GEG, § 263, 2.

⁹ Wb IV, 149; FCD, 230.

do so. They could greet each other anywhere else. We cannot envisage the vizier's office as being a sort of meeting-place for anybody or any official.

- 2) "Colleague" could be considered to refer to an official of superior rank. This would result in regarding the vizier's office as a sort of general headquarters where low-ranking officials meet and converse with superior-ranking personnel. However, the same argument as under (1) above can be raised here. What could be the function of "greeting each other" in the vizier's office? Unless we assume *nd-hr* to convey a notion of consultation or the like, this option is to be rejected. Even then, why should this happen in the vizier's office?

- 3) "Colleague" could refer to the vizier. Blumenthal has pointed out that *snnw* is indeed used to indicate the likeness of a person to one's superior¹⁰. In the MK it occurs in the relationship between officials and King¹¹. In this respect she quotes an interesting ex., stela Cairo CCG 20539 I, b, 5, where the vizier Mentuhotep says: *snnw n nsw m wsht '3t m nd-hr rn*, "(I am) a second of the King (Sesostris I) in the great hall when greeting (his) name"¹². In the bureaucratic sphere we may draw on the Autobiography of Rekhmire for a close parallel. In l. 4 we read: *sp tpy pw n t38 n.l, snnw.l m h3 (?)¹³ r rwty*, "It was the first time of my being summoned, all my colleagues amounting to a thousand (?) were (standing) outside"¹⁴. Since the vizier has no equal ranking officials as colleagues – let alone a thousand – *snnw* here has to pertain to subordinate personnel. In other words, the vizier can treat subordinates as his *snnww*, his "colleagues" (seconds).

In our view it is evident that option (3) stands out favourably as compared with (1) and (2), especially when seen in conjunction with the reverend notion conveyed by *nd-hr* (see above). Therefore, every official, from the lowest ranking upwards, is to enter the bureau of the vizier to pay his respects. This remarkable statement invites a number of observations.

In the first place, it affirms in a quite direct way that *every* official is invited to pay his respects to the official who is his overall chief. The Egyptian bureaucratic system of the early NK apparently allowed, even invited, direct communication between the various levels of the hierarchy including the top echelon, viz. the vizier himself, even if this meant bypassing all intermediate echelons.

¹⁰ *Untersuchungen*, 304.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 303–4.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Reading uncertain in Davies' facsimile (see next note).

¹⁴ Davies, *Rekhmire*, PL. XI, 4; p. 80 (= Urk IV, 1072, 16–17); Gardiner, ZÄS 60 (1925), 64. The occasion is Rekhmire being summoned to the court for his instalment as vizier.

A second point is the remarkable exhortative "invitation" extended to officials to enter into the vizier's presence, apparently on their own initiative. In fact, we gain the impression that section 15 is rather out of place in *The Duties*. Our impression can be substantiated to the point of an hypothesis.

- 1) Section 15 is the only one consisting of only one sentence.
- 2) Section 15 is the only one with an "exhortative" imperative as main verbal construction.
- 3) Section 15 is the only one *not* formulating any duty of the vizier. Its main concern is subordinate officials.
- 4) Section 15 has a definite "ethical" flavour to it. Two points stand out in this respect.
 - The term *snnw* is used to refer to the chief official as one's "equal" (a common feature in laudatory texts), whereas elsewhere in the text *snnw* is used to refer to one's peer ¹⁵. The equation of an official, even the lowest-ranking, with the vizier is an unparalleled feature of the text with its emphasis on the vizier's top position in the hierarchy and its complete lack of laudatory or ethical connotations in this direction.
 - The compound prep. *h3t-r* stresses that even the lowest ranking is urged to enter the vizier's bureau. Since no proper procedure or pertinent occasion is indicated, the imperative amounts to nothing less than a sort of general, standing invitation extended to even the lowest ranking. This does not match at all the strict structural hierarchy involved in dealing with tasks, procedures, situations and officials concerned found so far in *The Duties*.
- 5) Section 15 is not concerned with the formal description of a viziral task in the way shown in the preceding columns. It comes closest to a verbal quotation of somebody addressing subordinate officials and instructing them as to their attitude towards the vizier. The tenor of the "speech" is apparently the fact that access to the vizier is or must be unhindered and free, so no officials will feel inhibited about seeking access. The most likely speaker is the King.

These observations are responsible for our impression that section 15 is out of place in *The Duties*. It does not seem to be an original part of the text. Anyone who is familiar with the "Installation of Rekhmire" will agree that section 15 would rather fit in with this text ¹⁶. The five points of "deviation" listed above could be considered five characteristics of that particular text. They all agree with structure, grammar, contents, atmosphere and tenor of the "Installation".

¹⁵ See R2 and R27.

¹⁶ Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. XIV-XV; CXVI-CXVIII; p. 84-8; Urk IV, 1086,11 - 1093,6. Latest translation, AEL II, 21-4 (with all pertinent lit.).

This text has a history comparable to The Duties. It dates to the early 18th dyn. and was found in three tombs of viziers in Thebes, viz. Amenuser/User (TT 131), Rekhmire (TT 100), and Hapu (TT 66) ¹⁷. It records the address made by the king to his newly appointed vizier. It lays down principles which should govern the vizier's conduct of his office and regularly speaks of the public at large (e.g. petitioners) in their dealings with the vizier.

Now, there is the peculiar fact that the "Installation" also contains a part that would seem to be out of place there. Its final columns fit better with The Duties ¹⁸. They describe a topic which is incompatible with the contents of the text, viz. procedures pertaining to the inspection of plowlands, in a typical "Duties"-manner! On the other hand, we feel that this final part has been edited in such a way as to match the language of the "Installation" proper ¹⁹. The intrusion from The Duties into the "Installation" will be discussed in the Appendix.

The result is that The Duties appears to contain a section that would fit better with the "Installation", while the latter contains a part that fits better with The Duties. It would seem warranted, therefore, to formulate a hypothesis.

The archetypes of both texts were composed in the early 18th dyn. ²⁰. As is indicated by their appearing together in a number of viziral tombs in Thebes, they were thought of as belonging together. At some stage, parts of the original texts got mixed up or confused. The earliest extant copies of both texts in the tomb of Amenuser (the W-versions), show that the confusion was not corrected. Instead, the final part of the "Installation" shows traces of editing to accommodate the intrusive part from The Duties. The intrusive part of the "Installation" in The Duties, viz. section 15, shows no marks of editing. Subsequently, both intrusions became part of their respective recipient texts, as is shown by the various versions of the two texts.

This perspective would explain section 15 as a "Fremdkörper" in The Duties. The phenomenon agrees with a comparable feature of a closely related text.

¹⁷ Cf. Davies., *Rekhmire*, 84-5 with n. 36; cf. p. 88-9; Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 18.

¹⁸ Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. XV, 20-21; CXVIII, 20-21; Urk IV, 1093, 2-6. See Lichtheim's remark, AEL II, 24 n. 6.

¹⁹ For the details, see the Appendix.

²⁰ For the dating, the tradition of both texts and their connections, see chapter 4.6.4; 4.6.7 and 4.7.

SECTION 16 R24 – R25

Pl. 2; 6

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVII, 24–25; CXXI, 24–25
Urk IV, 1113, 3–5 | |
| II | B, 278–9
F, 948–9
D, 92
S, 114 | H, 36–7
J, 66
L, 439 |
| III | Hayes, PLMK, 69
Schenkel, <i>Bewässerungsrev.</i> , 33
Endesfelder, ZÄS 106 (1979), 44
Fairman, JEA 39 (1953), 119 | 2nd sentence
2nd sentence
2nd sentence
3rd sentence |

TRANSLITERATION

R24 *ntf sbb r sw3 nhwt hft ddt m* ^{a)} *pr-nsw; ntf sbb knbtyw*

R25 *nw w r irt ' m t3 r-dr.f; ntf sbb h3tyw-' hk3w-hwwt* ^{b)} *r sk3 r šmw;*

VARIANTS

- a) From this point on, fragments of the Paser version (P) have been preserved. A characteristic feature of P is its use of  for *m*, as here in P2.
- b) R25 has both titles in plural "Dreifachsetzung", while A21 has a simple plural.

TRANSLATION

- R24 It is he who dispatches ¹ to cut down ² sycamores ³ according to what has been said in the palace. It is he who dispatches the councillors
- R25 of the district ⁴ to construct the (inlet-/outlet-) channels ⁵ in the whole country. It is he who dispatches the mayors and the settlement-leaders ⁶ to take care of the cultivation and the harvest (?) ⁷.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

One does not need a graphic representation to illustrate the strict structural parallelism of the three sentences of this section. The feature was already observed to be present in sections 13–14.

COMMENTARY

1. *sbb* - For *sbi*², "to dispatch", see the remarks above ¹. The verb is construed without object, in contrast to the two following sentences. The absence of an object would seem to have its reasons, therefore. The sentence is phrased as the execution of an instruction of the *pr-nsw* (...*hft ddt m pr-nsw*) ². As managing director of the *pr-nsw* the vizier has to take care of its execution. The instruction pertains apparently to the cutting down of sycamores.

Now, there are two possibilities. Either the yield is intended for local use, thus implying that we are dealing here with a royal instruction for the whole of Egypt and that the actual produce of wood is a centrally organized activity in the provinces, or the yield is intended for some central institution, in which case the *pr-nsw* itself is a likely candidate.

Proceeding from the first possibility, we would expect *sbb* to be followed by an object designating the personnel carrying out the instruction locally (as in the two sentences that follow). However, if the personnel were to belong to the *pr-nsw*, the absence of any direct reference to them would become understandable. As opposed to the two following sentences ³, we would be dealing with an "internal" affair of the *pr-nsw*, in which case the explicit mentioning of pertinent personnel taking care of the matter could be dispensed with. Then the vizier would simply be seeing to material requirements of the *pr-nsw* as formulated in a royal instruction. In the commentary ad *nhwt* below, we will outline more arguments in favour of this view.

2. *sw3* - The very short writing of the verb has already been noted ⁴. It is regularly used with reference to wood ⁵, in particular sycamores ⁶.

¹ See p. 202ff.

² Cf. section 14, p. 222. One such order has been preserved, see below note 32.

³ It is interesting to compare at this point sections 13-14 and the present one, each of the three consisting of three sentences. The former appeared to show a formal division in a ratio 1:2 (section 13: p. 209), or 2:1 (section 14: p. 219). As regards contents, both covered one subject matter. Section 16 shows a strict similarity in formal structure without any division. However, as regards contents it is divided in the same ratio 1:2, i.e. the 1st clause pertaining to an internal affair of the *pr-nsw*; the 2nd and 3rd dealing with affairs in Egypt proper, while all three deal with rural aspects.

⁴ See above, p. 118; cf. Van den Boorn, *Varia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1985), 11-7.

⁵ E.g. *Admonitions*, 32 (3.5); *Beni Hassan* I, Pl. 29.

⁶ E.g. *Žába*, RILN, 99 (No. 73, 9-10). For the technical aspect of *sw3 nhwt*, compare LA II, 1267 (1).

3. *nhwt* - The plural in archaic "Dreifachsetzung" may be noted ⁷. *Nht* designates the sycamore fig tree ⁸, and, as a generic term, (indigenous) "wood" as opposed to imported kinds ⁹. The tree was frequently found in gardens and plantations ¹⁰ and often provided conspicuous landmarks in the Nile valley ¹¹. As one of the common native trees ¹² the Egyptians made use of it in various ways. After treatment its fruits were eaten or could be used as medicine ¹³. Its hard wood was used for religious statuettes ¹⁴, and for the construction of i.a. coffins, furniture and doors ¹⁵. In ship-building it was used for smaller components ¹⁶. At the same time, it is quite clear that for large-scale construction it was deemed to be of insufficient quality and as far inferior to the imported kinds, e.g. the Lebanese cedar pine ('š) ¹⁷.

Without direct reference to *nht*, wood and wood-supply appears to have been a subject of special interest to various central institutions, although there are occasional indications of private cutting down of trees and bushes ¹⁸. In the OK there occurs an official called *imy-r šnd*, "overseer of acacias" ¹⁹. A mutilated passage in the Admonitions contains a reference to a centralized wood-supply belonging to the royal treasury and the palace ²⁰. In the NK, e.g. the Decree of Horemheb and the P. Mallet deal with deliveries of wood to the palace as a corvée or an imposition ²¹. The Gebel Barkal Stela of Tuthmosis III refers to the supply of imported kinds

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- 7 Cf. Van den Boorn, *Date*, 378 n. 57.
 - 8 Latest discussion, Germer, *Flora*, 25-7. In general, see Lucas-Harris, *Materials* ⁴, 440; 446-7; LÄ II, 1264-70; VI, 113-4.
 - 9 Cf. Janssen, *Prices*, 370 n. 2; P. Reisner I, 73 (6).
 - 10 Cf. Janssen, *Prices*, 370; Vernus, RdE 29 (1977), 187. Ex., Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. CX.
 - 11 See e.g. the various toponyms compounded with *nht*, cf. P. Wilbour II, 31.
 - 12 Cf. Helck, *Mat. V*, 300; Lucas-Harris, *Materials* ⁴, 439.
 - 13 Cf. Germer, *Flora*, 26; LÄ VI, 114.
 - 14 Cf. Helck, *Mat. V*, 299; Janssen, *Prices*, 370. For the various objects, cf. Lucas-Harris, *Materials* ⁴, 440; 448ff; LÄ VI, 114.
 - 15 Cf. Germer, *Flora*, 26; P. Reisner I, 73 (6).
 - 16 E.g. P. Reisner II, 34; P.BM 10056 vo., II-III, cf. Glanville, ZÄS 66 (1930), 105ff; id., ZÄS 68 (1932), 7ff; Helck, *Mat V*, 273-4 (266-82).
 - 17 Cf. Lucas-Harris, *Materials* ⁴, 448.
 - 18 E.g. P. Leiden I 370, vo., 8-10 (LRL, 11; WLRL, 28). The 18th dyn. P. Berlin 10463 (Camino, JEA 49 (1963), 29-37) seems to refer to the cutting of wood for a mayor in his official capacity. Cf. LÄ VI, 1143-5.
 - 19 Vernus, RdE 29 (1977), 191 n. 100.
 - 20 *Adm.*, 3, 11-12, cf. Vernus, *ibid.*, p. 179-80; 191. For the MK, see also Hayes, PLMK, 69 on the administrative unit *w'b-ht*, "orchard (?)". Wood could be handed out by the palace to dependencies, e.g. a royal dockyard workshop, cf. P. Reisner II, 17-8; 22-3.
 - 21 Cf. Kruchten, DH, 75-6.

of wood to the palace ²². In the same way, the treasuries of Aton ²³ and Amun ²⁴ had a centralized wood-supply. Evidently, all these institutions needed an organized supply of wood.

Primarily, this was used as fire-wood intended for the service departments of the various institutions ²⁵ and for dependent divisions such as the workmen of Deir el-Medineh ²⁶. It was also used in the manufacture of luxury goods at the palace workshops ²⁷. A centralized wood-supply to guarantee a structural flow of raw material is found in ship-building records ²⁸.

Apart from the present passage, we know of two sources that refer to the vizier in connection with wood-supply. Administrative Order No. 3 of the P. Reisner II is a copy of a letter of the vizier Antefoker giving instructions i.a. relating to deliveries of timber to the dockyard workshop of the palace (*pr*-3) in the Thinite Nome ²⁹. Since the workshop is a dependency of the palace ³⁰, it is interesting to note the involvement of the vizier in the matter of attending to its wood-supply. For the NK Helck has called attention to the inspection of the wood-supply by the vizier in the tomb of Paser (TT 106) ³¹.

As far as the evidence goes, there are no indications for the existence of a centrally organized cutting down of (sycamore) trees for local use on a regular basis (first possibility above). On the other hand, we have found evidence suggesting that various central institutions - including the palace - had their own supply of wood, organized by their own personnel or provided through *corvée* or imposition. Most probably therefore, the present sentence refers to the latter option. We are informed that the vizier takes care of the wood-supply on royal instruction. A reference to one such order of Hatshepsut has indeed been preserved ³². Hence a plausible suggestion would be to assume that he takes care of the wood-supply of the particular institution that he manages, viz. the *pr*-*nsw*, by implication covering the *pr*-*nsw* itself and its dependencies (as

²² Urk IV, 1236, 17ff.; cf. Helck, *Mat. V*, 265-6.

²³ Cf. Vernus, *RdE* 29 (1977), 180; 190.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 191 n. 102. For the TIP, see *ibid.*, p. 181-3; 191 on the title *imy-r št3w*, "overseer of 'forest' (area)".

²⁵ Cf. Kruchten, *DH*, 75-6.

²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 76; Helck, *Mat. V*, 241-65; 285-7; cf. *P. Reisner II*, 17-8 on a royal dockyard workshop (cf. note 20).

²⁷ E.g. *P. Leningrad* 1116B, cf. Helck, *Mat. V*, 282-4. We may also refer to NK tomb-scenes of carpenters at work in the workshops of the palace (or temple), e.g. Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. LII-LIII, LV.

²⁸ Organised in central storehouses, e.g. *P. Reisner II*, 17-8; 22-3; 34-5; *P.BM* 10056 (ref. note 16); Helck, *Mat. V*, 287-96; *P. Anast.* IV, 7, 9ff. (Helck, *Mat. V*, 296 with Glanville, *ZÄS* 68 (1932), 37-8).

²⁹ *P. Reisner II*, 22-3.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17-8.

³¹ *Verwaltung*, 47 n. 8 referring to Borchardt, *OLZ* 1931, 301 n. 4.

³² The queen orders to cut down sycamores in the whole country for the construction of her obelisk-carrying ships, cf. *LÄ II*, 1265; 1269 n. 4.

attested in the sources quoted above). As its managing director it is the vizier's task to see to the need for wood of the *pr-nsu*.

Nht as a generic term would seem to designate only indigenous wood. Whether the vizier was also concerned with the supply of imported kinds is unknown. Central authorities seem to have played a role here in the 18th dyn., e.g. the treasury³³ and the army³⁴.

4. *knbtw nw w* - For a general analysis of the title, see above³⁵.
5. *irt* ' - The present sentence has historical significance as the only piece of explicit information on the involvement of the central administration in the management of the irrigation system in Pharaonic Egypt. The crucial noun appears to be '.

In recent years two studies have been devoted to the system of artificial irrigation in ancient Egypt³⁶. They concentrate on the date of introduction, the technology and the management. The latter two themes will concern us here.

The term ' emerges in FIP texts from Siut and Gebelein. In his *Bewässerungsrevolution* Schenkel concluded that it is a *terminus technicus* in the system of artificial irrigation and renders it: "Wasser-Durchlass", "Durchlass", "Regulator" and "Einlaufregulator"³⁷. His point of departure is the ambivalent nature of the term caused by the fact that it can be determined by the water-sign , as well as the land-sign ³⁸. Hence the term has as much the sense of a "canal" as of a "dyke". He solves the ambivalence in considering ' a particular point in a natural or artificial dam that will be pierced at the correct moment to allow the flood waters to pour out of the basins back to the river or on to the fields in a controllable fashion. "Solche Durchlässe wurden (...) durch Einschütten, bzw. Wegschieben von Erde reguliert"³⁹. Operated as a sort of temporary "sluice", an ' is one of the devices improving and controlling the inlet and outlet of the natural (or

³³ Urk IV, 543-5. In this respect, we notice that The Duties testifies to a close co-operation between vizier and *imy-r htm* in the management of the *pr-nsu* (see p. 70ff.). Therefore, the vizier may have been involved indirectly. Later on it may have been an object of trade, cf. Helck, *Mat. V*, 266.

³⁴ Urk IV, 1236, 18 - 1238, 2.

³⁵ See p. 174ff.

³⁶ It would far exceed the limits of this commentary to provide an overall description of the irrigation-system. We may refer to the literature cited in LÄ I, 782 and to Butzer, ECHE, 15-56; Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 9-13. See also the two studies cited below.

³⁷ Resp. *Bewässerungsrev.*, 30 n. 109; 33-4; 23; LÄ III, 311; VI, 1157-8. He rejects (o.c. p. 33 n. 123) Meeks's "canal protected by dykes" (*Edfou*, 63-4; cf. Clère, BIFAO 83 (1983), 95-6).

³⁸ *Bewässerungsrev.*, 33, cf. note 43 below. It must be noted that the water-sign is always present, the land-sign only in one or two cases.

³⁹ Ibid.

subdivided) basins, the other devices being shorter channels and artificial dams ⁴⁰.

It must be conceded that it is hard to find solid evidence in favour of Schenkel's highly technical interpretation, as attractive as it may seem. The sources remain equivocal through their (too) general context.

Endesfelder, on the other hand, considers an artificial channel breaking through the natural levees along the riverbed and regulating the inlet and outlet of flood waters in artificial basin-divisions of natural basins ("Zu- und Ableitungskanälen") ⁴¹. They are used in conjunction with artificial dams and dykes.

The interpretations of Schenkel and Endesfelder are difficult to reconcile. An ex.: Merikare P. 125-127 ⁴²:

mī nt ḏb3.tī m nt
nn ītrw rdī sdg3.f
fh ' pw īmn.f sw im.f ⁴³.

"As a watercourse is replaced by (another) watercourse,
 So no waterway ⁴⁴ allows itself to be concealed,
 It breaks - the passage-point by which it was hidden (*Schenkel*)
 - the channel in which it was hidden". (*Endesfelder*)

Both options are certainly possible. Since Endesfelder's view would seem to be able to encompass Schenkel's highly specific interpretation of ' as an inherent aspect of the operation of an inlet-/outlet-channel - and not the other way around - we favour her argument at present. Another point in favour will be found in the discussion below.

The present clause informs us that the vizier dispatches the councillors of the district to *irt* ' in the entire country. The same expression is found in the Kheti text from Siut ⁴⁵. In line with Endesfelder's proposal we could render it: "to construct the inlet-/outlet-channel(s)". As she aptly remarks, The Duties makes no mention of dams and dykes. Her conclusion is that, by the time our text was composed - the 12th dyn. in her view - the irrigation system was not yet fully developed ⁴⁶.

In our estimate, The Duties was composed in the early 18th dyn. ⁴⁷.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 23.

⁴¹ ZÄS 106 (1979), 43-5, a view shared by Meeks and Clère, ref. note 37.

⁴² Volten, *Pol. Schriften*, 67. Translation after AEL I, 106.

⁴³ The variant copy P. Carlsberg VI, 4, 10 (= C) has ' with det. Σ , cf. note 38.

⁴⁴ The term *ītrw* is rendered (artificial) "Bewässerungskanal" by Schenkel, *Bewässerungsrev.*, 32.

⁴⁵ Cf. Endesfelder, ZÄS 106 (1979), 45.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Cf. Van den Boorn, *Date*, passim. See Chapter 4.

By that time the system of artificial irrigation was fully operational (as is perhaps indicated in the addition "to construct channel(s) *in the entire country*"). Therefore, the term ' must be considered a characteristic feature of the system, pinpointing the main mechanism amongst the sequence of devices operational in the system of artificial irrigation. As a *pars pro toto*, it covers by implication the whole system. In the way typical of The Duties, mentioning by the author of the main feature serves to cover the whole system.

It would seem warranted, therefore, to propose that the councillors of the district are dispatched not only to construct channels. Probably, they supervise the maintenance of the entire irrigation-system, since the construction of any given channel is dependent on the management and control of the large natural basins inclusive of the construction of artificial dams and dykes. Their involvement would seem to concern mainly the maintenance and the construction work, since we are not informed on the actual operation of the system. In other words, there may very well be a difference between the people constructing channels etc. and the people operating the system in deciding e.g. how and when the flood waters will be allowed in and out of the basins, i.e. a difference between large-scale, overall operations and small-scale, specific actions.

For the construction and maintenance, there is some evidence that local officials were involved. The MK Abydos stela CCG 20531,c of the "chamberlain" Kheperkare states that he was *hnt(y) t3wy r hrp n.f ' m t3-wr*, "foremost of the Two Lands to control for him (scil. the king) the channel(s) in the "Thinite Nome" ⁴⁸. His additional title is *imy-r k3wt nbt nt nsw*, "overseer of all construction-work of the King". Endesfelder calls attention to the MK title *iry-mw*, and for the NK to such titles as *'3 (n) mw*, *hry (n) mw*, all quite low-ranking officials in her estimation ⁴⁹.

To this the evidence of The Duties may be added. However, as we have seen before ⁵⁰, the councillors of the district were found to be rather high-ranking local officials, operating on the same level as the mayors.

It is difficult to assess this difference in rank. Perhaps it could be explained as a difference between the structural (early NK) situation as reflected in The Duties – the councillors of the district being ultimately in charge –, and the officials actually involved in the construction and maintenance (under their control) as represented in the sources given above. We can only conclude, as far as the evidence of The Duties goes, that the overall supervision of the construction (and maintenance) work of the irrigation-system seems

48 Cf. Schenkel, *Bewässerungsrev.*, 33.

49 ZÄS 106 (1979), 47–8. For the title *'3-mw*, "water-chief", cf. the remarks of Vleeming, *P. Reinhardt*, 81–4.

50 See above, p. 174ff.

to have been the responsibility of the councillors of the district ⁵¹. These local officials were found to answer directly to the vizier ⁵². The present sentence states that they are dispatched on their mission by the vizier. Evidently, the vizier takes a direct interest in the state of the irrigation network throughout Egypt. This is stressed by the fact that, as sections 9 and 13 inform us ⁵³ - these officials have to report back regularly to the vizier on their activities. Moreover, contrary to section 13, the present section testifies to the opposite of a *post factum* viziral control: in fact, he is seen dispatching them with the pertinent instruction.

All this would seem to contradict the oft repeated opinion that the system of irrigation was basically a local matter ⁵⁴. However, if we distinguish between the construction-work involved and the actual control and management of the flood waters, the problem may be solved.

As Endesfelder points out ⁵⁵, construction and maintenance of large-scale, supra-local irrigation works such as inlet-/outlet-channels, artificial dykes and dams connected to natural basins covering 10 x 4 km on an average ⁵⁶, involves large-scale operations including probably a local corvée ⁵⁷. Moreover, it must have entailed a more or less permanent effort for a prolonged period of time. Its long-term planning and maintenance is a full-time activity.

On a basic, dogmatic level, the (perfect) Nile flood was a matter for royal interest and care ⁵⁸. It was the state's concern to provide for the basic requirements of life in rural Egypt. Just as the assessment of boundaries or the proper operation of the "cadaster" was a point of concern for the central authorities, the construction and maintenance of the basic requirements of the irrigation-system was the responsibility of the same authorities - at least in theory. This task was delegated to local officials who were to take care of the

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- 51 It is interesting to observe in this respect that the dimensions of administrative districts (e.g. w) and provinces tended to coincide with those of (groups or subdivisions of) natural basins, cf. Meeks, *Edfou*, 140; Butzer, EHCE, 102-4; Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 13 with n. 14.
- 52 See above, p. 174ff.
- 53 Resp. p. 174ff, 209ff.
- 54 E.g. Butzer, EHCE, 43; Schenkel, *Bewässerungsrev.*, passim; Endesfelder, ZÄS 106 (1979), 48ff.
- 55 ZÄS 106 (1979), 49-50.
- 56 Ibid., p. 50; Butzer, EHCE, 17 (with even higher numbers); LÄ I, 777 (2000-20.000 feddan).
- 57 See Hayes's remarks on the present sentence (PLMK, 131); Endesfelder, ZÄS 106 (1979), 49; Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 11-2. It is possible that P. Reisner Supplemental pertains to earthworks on basins and irrigation ditches, cf. P. Reisner III, 15; 35ff. For a recent discussion of corvée, cf. Vleeming, P. Reinhardt, 72-9.
- 58 Cf. Endesfelder, ZÄS 106 (1979), 38-9; LÄ I, 780-1; Helck, ZÄS 93 (1966), 74-9; Posener, *Divinité*, 47-61.

work using their own administrative apparatus. It is to this aspect that our text testifies.

The short-term planning and actual decisions pertaining to the control of the flood waters are a different affair. As has been pointed out ⁵⁹, these involve local expertise which no central government can provide. The operation of the system was - as it is today - the concern of local communities.

While *The Duties* illustrates in characteristic detail the government's involvement, Egyptian sources in general remain silent on the subject. Once it is realized that the construction and maintenance of irrigation requirements must have devolved upon local delegates of the central administration, references to this task may actually be found under the general heading of construction-work and local corvee, e.g. *k3wt nbt nt nsu* and related titles such as *imy-r k3wt nbt nt nsu* ⁶⁰.

The nature of *The Duties* serves to explain why our text pinpoints this in such vivid detail. At the same time, it may be clear why we prefer Endesfelder's more structural view on ' , as compared to Schenkel's technical view. Through its very nature, *The Duties* would more readily allow the interpretation of ' as a basic and large-scale feature of irrigation than as a hydraulic and technical device in the actual mechanics of the system's operation. The former tends to pinpoint a specific activity ("to construct inlet-/outlet-channels"), while the latter seems less suitable for that purpose. The latter option would, moreover, concern the actual, *local operation* of the system. The phrase *irt* ' would have to be rendered in line with Schenkel's argument: "to make the break-through / the passage-point" (or the like). Now this is precisely the type of activity that calls for local expertise and knowledge in deciding how, when and where the "passages" will be made. No government or delegated official is appropriate in this context. For these reasons, we favour Endesfelder's approach.

6. *h3tyw- ' h3w-hwt* - None of the studies referred to in the heading to this section has deemed it necessary to comment on this sentence ⁶¹. That may seem rather strange, since we will appear to be dealing with an interesting statement. Its possible implications are far from being settled.

The sentence under discussion pertains to mayors and settlement-leaders in an agricultural context. On the *h3w-hwt* of the NK no evidence is available. Hence we will concentrate on the *h3tyw- '*, extending the information to cover the former officials as well ⁶².

⁵⁹ See note 54.

⁶⁰ Cf. Hayes, PLMK, 130-1; Endesfelder, ZÄS 106 (1979), 49.

⁶¹ Except for the obscure remarks of H. H and L have renderings that are untenable grammatically.

⁶² For an analysis of both titles, see above p. 98ff.

The towns of Egypt were the centres that enabled the central government to exploit the agricultural resources of the country. They were often surrounded by dense concentrations of people engaged in agriculture, as e.g. evidenced by the P. Wilbour⁶³. As heads of the towns, the mayors were the chief agents of the central policy to keep a close control on agriculture in order to ensure an adequate food supply for the population in addition to the produce of a surplus, collected in the form of taxes, at the disposal of the state⁶⁴. This brief sketch may suffice to supply the background for the variety of agricultural tasks of these urban officials.

They were responsible for the collection and transportation of taxes and deliveries of grain and other commodities⁶⁵. In addition they were charged in many instances with the support of local temples⁶⁶ or state institutions⁶⁷. We find them entrusted with the management and control of granaries⁶⁸. In the NK they often combined their office of mayor with agricultural functions such as "overseer of fields"⁶⁹. Apart from that, they could be charged as mayors with the management of particular types of fields, e.g. *khato*-fields⁷⁰. Especially from NK sources, one often gains the impression that their work to a large extent consisted of agricultural tasks⁷¹.

7. *r sk3 r šmw* - As for *sk3*, the parallelism with the two preceding clauses suggests that we are dealing with the verb and not with the derived noun⁷². The verb is usually rendered "to cultivate", covering essentially two agricultural activities, viz. the sowing and the ploughing⁷³. As a rule this type of work occurs after the inundation in the *pṛt* or "winter" season⁷⁴, when a virgin layer of fresh flood deposit invites new cultivation of crops. As far as we are aware, *sk3* is unable to designate (any type of) agricultural labour

63 O'Connor, MSU, 695 (abbr. quotation); in general *ibid.*, p. 681-98; Janssen, SAK 3 (1975), 134-5; Meeks, Donations, 617 n. 38; *Verwaltung*, 225.

64 Cf. O'Connor, MSU, 695.

65 Cf. Helck, *Mat. IV*, 541ff.; 564ff.; 575ff.; *Verwaltung*, 149; 235; *P. Wilbour II*, 206ff. In general, Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 19-73.

66 Cf. LÄ I, 876. E.g. the mayors in the unpublished Karnak "imposition-list" (see above, p. 213) deliver textiles, oil, honey, wine and fowl to the Domain of Aton.

67 E.g. P. Gurob Fragm. J, cf. Kruchten, DH, 146 (with lit.).

68 Cf. *Verwaltung*, 236; LÄ I, 876.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 133-4; above p. 156.

70 Cf. LÄ I, 876; II, 153; Helck, *Mat. II*, 275ff.; *Mat IV*, 564ff.; 579; *Verwaltung*, 111ff.; 235; *P. Wilbour II*, 161-2; Menu, *Régime*, 92ff.; Janssen, BiOr 43 no. 374 3/4 (1986), 351 ff.

71 E.g. Urk IV, 124-5 (Paheri).

72 Cf. Wb IV, 316,10; Goedicke, *Neferyt*, 73. It may be noted that any determinative suggestive of the noun is lacking (e.g.  or ).

73 WLRL, 23 n. (h); James, *Hekanakhte*, 18 n. 3.

74 Cf. LÄ I, 59; Kees, *Aegypten*, 24-8.

("Landarbeit") in general or other types of agricultural work – such as "to (bring in the) harvest" or the like – in the two other seasons. We may note Menu's remark that the use of *sk3* implies the existence of certain rights to the cultivated fields on the part of the cultivator ⁷⁵.

After these introductory remarks we come to the main issue. The present sentence allows for a number of translations each having different implications. Basically the problem resides in the meaning of the prep. *r* and the term *šmw*. Three possibilities are listed below. We take the liberty of enlarging upon the first option involving the subjects of summer cultivation and perennial irrigation, in an attempt to gather all present information on the theme. In the end it will become clear that uncertainty prevails here. All three possibilities bring out their own problems. We have preferred to leave matters undecided, only indicating our preference at the end of the analysis. Future research and new sources will perhaps provide an answer to the dilemma.

- 1) The first option proceeds from a temporal sense of the prep. *r* as "at, at the time of" (GEG § 163,3).

This rare sense of *r* is in fact suggested by the peculiar orthography of *šmw*. We notice that the latter's sole determinative is ☉. Hence it would seem apparent that we are dealing with the "summer", the 3rd season of the Egyptian year. Applying this fact to the present clause, we are informed that the vizier dispatches his local officials "to cultivate in the summer season".

Several scholars have noted the remarkable quality of the statement since cultivation usually took place in the winter season, right after the inundation. Some take the information at face value and are willing to draw conclusions from it ⁷⁶. Others provide deviating translations and interpretations ⁷⁷. They favour a different approach to *šmw*.

Well-known derivations ⁷⁸ of *šmw*, "summer season", are *šmw*, "(summer) harvest" and "harvest tax" ⁷⁹. Now these terms are always determined by means of ☉  or . The Hekanakhte Papers contain some dubious instances determined

⁷⁵ RdE 22 (1970), 122 n. 2.

⁷⁶ E.g. the translations of Davies, Struwe and James. Likewise Fairman, JEA 39 (1953), 119. For the possible conclusions, see below.

⁷⁷ E.g. *Verwaltung*, 36–7 (with Schenkel, *Bewässerungsrev.*, 68 n. 286); the translations of B and L; Baer, JARCE 1 (1962), 40 n. 98. See also below.

⁷⁸ On the relationship, cf. *P. Wilbour II*, 24; Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 20; Megally, *Notions*, 98 n. 2.

⁷⁹ Cf. Megally, *Notions*, 97–100; id., *Recherches*, 45; 221–2; Helck, *Mat. IV*, 541; Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 20; Helck, *Aktenkunde*, 131–2; LÄ I, 3–12; Janssen, SAK 3 (1975), 173ff.; Baer, JARCE 1 (1962), 30 n. 43; 41; *P. Wilbour II*, 24.

by 𐎠𐎵 80. Obviously, the ambiguity there arises from the determinative 𐎵. On the other hand, we do not know of any instance where 𐎠𐎵 with sole det. 𐎠 has to be interpreted in terms of 𐎠𐎵, det. 𐎠𐎵, 𐎠𐎵. The result is that the orthography of 𐎠𐎵 in The Duties seems to be pointing to the summer season 81.

Summer cultivation is considered a vexed problem by many scholars because it entails the acknowledgment of permanent, whole-year irrigation and the possibility of producing two harvests a year 82. Fairman, in his review of Gardiner's *P. Wilbour*, seems to have been the first to tackle the problem 83. Among his references he points out the present passage as suggestive of the existence of summer cultivation. Baer and Schenkel subsequently denied this 84. However, the majority of studies which have recently dealt with the matter display a consensus and are cautiously in favour of the existence of summer cultivation in the NK 85. If this consensus is justified, Duties R25 would perfectly fit in with the argument once it is realized that 𐎠𐎵 means "summer season". Other interpretations would require solid substantiation in view of its orthography. It must be noted that the statement of the text would be the very first known reference to summer cultivation 86.

The implications of a limited system of summer cultivation are considerable but far from being clarified in detail. The most elaborate hypothesis has been proposed by Schenkel 87. He proceeds from a differentiation in the designation of fields in the

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- 80 James, *Hekanakhte*, Pl. 3,8; 5,29; cf. *ibid.*, p. 3-4. The first occ. is rendered "harvest", the second "summer season" by Baer, *JAOS* 83 (1963), 5 n. 36 and 8 n. 54.
- 81 Reinforced by the strict, logical and consistent use of determinatives throughout our text. Schenkel (*Bewässerungsrev.*, 68 n. 286) and Baer (*JARCE* 1 (1962) 40 n. 98) have ignored this crucial point.
- 82 On the phenomenon, see the remarks of Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 40 n. 98; *id.*, *JAOS* 83 (1963), 2 n. 4; Butzer, *EHCE*, 46-50; Fairman, *JEA* 39 (1953), 119; Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 140; Vleeming, *P. Reinhardt*, 119 n. 18; Schenkel, *Bewässerungsrev.*, 65-8; *LÄ* I, 60; 777ff; III, 931. *JEA* 39 (1953), 119.
- 83 Ref. notes 81-2. Baer renders Duties R25 as: "he sends out the mayors and village headmen to cultivate and harvest". Schenkel's denial seems to be based on Helck's incorrect translation: "Er schickt die Bürgermeister und Ortsvorsteher im Sommer zum Ackern".
- 84 Ref. note 82.
- 85 Fairman's reference to a passage in the *Hekanakhte* Papers (ref. note 83) has been rejected by Baer (ref. note 82).
- 87 *Bewässerungsrev.*, 65-8; *LÄ* I, 777ff.; III, 931ff.

NK, especially in the Wilbour Papyrus ⁸⁸. The document (Part A) distinguishes between *k3yt*, "normal arable land", *tni*, "elevated land" and *nhbw*, "fresh land". "Elevated lands" are equated with NK *iw* and *m3wt*, resp. "island" and "new land" (= *sharaki*-land), situated on the levees along the Nile bank ⁸⁹. P. Wilbour documents that *tni*- and *nhbw*-lands are assessed at higher taxation-rates, viz. *k3yt* - *tni* - *nhbw*, resp. ratio's: 5 *h3r* (sack)/aroura, 7½ and 10 ⁹⁰. Schenkel notices that the first references to *iw*-land (= *m3wt/tni*) are contemporary with the first occurrence of the shaduf. Perennial irrigation allowing the produce of two (or more) harvests (one stemming from summer cultivation), calls for the employment of hydraulic devices. The shaduf is the first to be attested, from the Amarna period onward ⁹¹.

Now, Schenkel proposes to consider *tni*- and *nhbw*-lands as being under perennial irrigation. Hence they produce more than one harvest, which would explain their higher taxation-rates in the P. Wilbour. Schenkel stresses that perennial field-irrigation must have been a limited phenomenon. The system was primarily applied in the horticultural context, gardens and plantations producing crops such as lentils and onions but excluding cereals. While Schenkel's hypothesis is certainly attractive in that it offers an explanation of the differentiation of taxation-rates in conjunction with distinctions in field-designations, as an evolution of irrigation technology, at the same time it serves to illustrate our inadequate knowledge of the basics of Egyptian agriculture and its system of rents and taxes. In the absence of additional reliable sources, Schenkel is forced to introduce a degree of speculation into his assessment of the terms involved. For this reason, his whole argument has been rejected by Butzer ⁹². The latter maintains that perennial irrigation by means of the shaduf (in the NK) is restricted exclusively to horticulture.

The net result of the discussion so far is that we are left uncertain as to the interpretation of the statement of Duties R25. One explanation could be that the vizier dispatches his local officials to take care of *special* agricultural tasks in the summer

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- 88 Fairman's assessment (ref. note 83) is that P. Wilbour is mainly concerned with crops under summer cultivation. Cf. Baer, JARCE 1 (1962), 39-40; Janssen, SAK 3 (1975), 140.
- 89 Cf. *Bewässerungsrev.*, 62-4. For the most recent discussion of *iw* and *m3wt*, cf. Vleeming, P. Reinhardt, 58-63; for *tni*, *ibid.*, p. 108-9.
- 90 Cf. Baer, JARCE 1 (1962), 40; Janssen's review of Stuchevsky's analysis, BiOr (forthcoming). For the diverging ratio 15 sack/aroura in the P. Reinhardt (21st dyn.), cf. Vleeming, P. Reinhardt, 102-20.
- 91 Cf. Butzer, EHCE, 46-7; Schenkel, *Bewässerungsrev.*, 65; 67 n. 283.
- 92 EHCE, 46-50; *ibid.*, p. 48 quoting Baer's judgement of Schenkel's argument as "etymological guesswork". Vleeming, P. Reinhardt, 62 also expresses doubts.

season, viz. the cultivation of gardens and plantations under perennial irrigation producing small crops, and possibly the cultivation of special categories of elevated lands. Both types of cultivation would require special care in view of their specific irrigational aspects, viz. the use of shadufs, the increased need for dung and the danger of salination⁹³. The irrigation waters – not depending on the annual Nile flood – were provided by special installations such as springs and short-track transverse canals equipped with shadufs, all of which needed special attention (i.e. not inherent in the normal system of basin irrigation by means of the annual flood).

Such an argument could explain why the statement has been included in *The Duties*. It may refer to a special task of the local administrators as delegated civil servants of the central government, a task that was added to their common agricultural tasks (see above). It deviates from the standard delegation of the care of the basin irrigation-system to the councillors of the district by implication. This was described in the preceding (!) sentence. In addition, it concerns a historically new task of the local magistrates. Following this first option, *The Duties* is the first to refer to summer cultivation and therefore to a limited system of perennial irrigation. In the early 18th dyn. it must have been a completely new feature in agriculture⁹⁴. For this reason perhaps, this "new type" of agriculture was entrusted to the urban officials.

To be sure, the text only speaks of summer cultivation and not of the management and supervision of the system of perennial irrigation. However, there is an evident contrast with the implications of the previous sentence. This could lead to the proposition that the regular system of basin irrigation was supervised by the councillors of the district, while the new system of perennial irrigation became a new concern of the chief urban officials. Horticulture was basically related to the urban environment⁹⁵. If Schenkel's theory holds true, perennial irrigation of specific categories of fields entailed higher tax-yields, for which the urban officials were held responsible in the first instance.

This is the general thrust of our first option. However, the main

93 Cf. LÄ I, 777.

94 If the present reconstruction be deemed acceptable, it may have historical significance as an enlargement upon Schenkel's theory that the rise and fall of the MK were marked by crucial events in irrigation technology, resp. the introduction of artificial basin irrigation and the attainment of the system's limits giving rise to grave social and economic disturbances. The beginning of the NK would be marked, according to this view, by the introduction of another new feature, viz. a system of limited perennial irrigation which might have given a new impetus to the inner colonisation and rural exploitation of Egypt. Cf. Schenkel, *Bewässerungsrev.*, 66–7; 73.

95 Cf. LÄ II, 376–80.

objections are obvious. While the orthography of *šmw* points to "summer season", we have to select a rare and quite questionable sense of the prep. *r* in order to accommodate such a meaning (usual form *m šmw*). Moreover, it does seem rather speculative to construct a theory of summer cultivation and perennial irrigation on the basis of the determinative of *šmw*, although – it must be admitted – the author of *The Duties* is quite consistent in his use of determinatives.

- 2) The second option takes the prep. *r* in its basic sense "to, towards".

Disregarding for a moment its determinative, *šmw* allows for three possible translations 1) summer season 2) summer harvest 3) harvest tax (see above p. 244). The prep. could be considered as conveying a notion of purpose or respect. The resulting alternative renderings of *r sk3 r šmw* are:

- "to cultivate for the harvest" (or the like)
- "to cultivate for the harvest tax" (or the like).

Both would seem to be plausible. However, when taken in conjunction with the two previous sentences where officials are dispatched to carry out or supervise actual field work, we prefer the first rendering. An additional argument may be that the first rendering more or less embraces the second one. Finally, in itself the second interpretation seems somewhat awkward. One cultivates to obtain a harvest. This allows the imposition of taxes. One does not cultivate primarily to obtain taxes.

When we proceed from the first rendering, it seems rather difficult to imagine that the urban officials carried out the actual cultivation of fields themselves. Most likely, they supervised the work. Thus, we would have to modify the translation of *r sk3 r šmw* to something like: "to take care of the cultivation and the harvest". One objection is that, in this way, the parallelism of *sk3*, as an infinitive, with *sw3* and *irt* of the preceding clauses would vanish to some extent.

The main objection against this option is evident. A meaning "(summer) harvest" of *šmw* would call for different determinatives. As stated before, *šmw* with sole det. *o* meaning "harvest" seems to be unique.

- 3) This third option is covered by the translations of Baer and Schenkel (see note 84) and those referred to in the heading of this section. For various reasons that should be apparent after the foregoing discussion, they all seem less plausible (except for Baer's rendering, which comes close to our option no. 2).

Obviously, option no. 1 is the most daring one. However, unless proof becomes available attesting summer cultivation and perennial irrigation at the very beginning of the 18th dyn., we have to consider it largely hypothetical. With appropriate reservations, therefore, we favour the second possibility.

It states that the vizier dispatches the urban officials to supervise the cultivation of fields in order to obtain a harvest. This mission

falls in line with their known agricultural tasks ⁹⁶. It testifies to the government's interest in agriculture inspired by a wish to ensure harvests and taxes. On the other hand, the general phrasing of the sentence precludes any conclusions as to the government's role in the actual work in the fields. That must have been part of the responsibilities of the urban officials. The present sentence only indicates that the central authorities kept in general a close eye on agriculture and on their delegated executive officials in the field.

⁹⁶ Above p. 242ff.

SECTION 17 R25 – R26

Pl. 2; 6

- I Davies, Pl. XXVII, 25–26; CXXI, 25–26
Urk IV, 1113, 6–13
- II B, 279 H, 37
F, 948–9 J, 66
D, 92 L, 439–40
S, 114
- III Lorton, JARCE 11 (1974), 65 last clause but one

TRANSLITERATION

R25 *ntf irr imy-r šntw m ḥ3 n pr-nsu; ntf irr sdm* ^{a)} *ḥ3tyw-’ ḥk3w-ḥwwt
pr(r)w ḥr rn.f n šm’w t3-mḥw;*

R26 *sm.t(w) n.f mdwt nb(t); sm.t(w) n.f ḥrt mnw šm’ nḏrt nb nty r ’w3t
[ca 1½ gr.] ; ntf irr ḥ3k n sp3t nb; ntf sdm sw.*

VARIANTS

a) While R25 has *ntf irr sdm*, P3 gives *ntf sdm*.

TRANSLATION

- R25 It is he who appoints the overseer of police ¹ in the hall of the palace ². It is he who holds the hearing of the mayors and settlement-leaders ³ who have gone out in his name ⁴ to Upper and Lower Egypt ⁵.
- R26 It is to him that every legal matter has to be reported ⁶. It is to him that the affairs of the fortress of Upper Egypt ⁷ have to be reported (as well as) every arrest of (any) one who is involved in plundering ⁸ [...]. It is he who assigns the spoils (of war) to each town district. It is he who judges him (the plunderer) ⁹.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

The six sentences that are grouped under the heading of section 17 have not been recognized as a unit by the majority of translators. A

number of divisions have been suggested, though without supporting evidence ¹. The arguments in favour of our text division may be listed briefly. More evidence will be provided in the commentary.

The first sentence (*ntf irr imy-r šntw*) is marked off from section 16 by the latter's agrarian tenor. Unless considered an isolated sentence constituting a section in itself, it must be tied to the next sentence of the same formal and grammatical structure (*ntf irr sqm...*). Leaving out for a moment the next one (*smi.t(w) n.f mdwt...*), we come to a long sentence on the "affairs of the fortress" (*smi.t(w) n.f hrt...*). Now, this is connected to the following one *ntf irr h3k...* (after the lacuna) in its terminology: 'w3t – h3k. As we will see below, the last sentence (*ntf sqm sw*) refers to *nb nty r 'w3t* of the preceding clause. Their relationship is stressed additionally by the fact that this last sentence is clearly marked off from the theme of section 18 to which it cannot belong.

The question is how to regard the intermediate clause *smi.t(w) n.f mdwt nb*, viz. as a dividing line between the two "blocks" outlined above (and belonging to which one?), or as an intrinsic part of section 17? Again, unless considered an isolated statement, it must belong somewhere. As regards structure, it clearly falls in line with the next clause. As regards contents, it cannot stand alone because it would lack the indication of a contextual framework. On the other hand, there is a meaningful connection to be made with the preceding sentences dealing with the local officials and the overseer of police.

The result is the following scheme which neatly illustrates the stylized formal structure of the section.

ntf irr imy-r šntw...
ntf irr sqm...

smi.t(w) n.f mdwt nb.
smi.t(w) n.f hrt...

ntf irr h3k...
ntf sqm sw.

As will transpire from the remarks below, the general theme is law and order in the palace, in the country and on the southern frontier, plus procedures pertaining to the subject of plunder.

COMMENTARY

1. *imy-r šntw* – For the "overseer of police(men)", see the analysis in section 2 ².

¹ See B, D, S, H, J (ref. section-heading). F and L show no division at all.

² See above, p. 50ff.

2. *h3 n pr-nsw* - As far as we are aware, the designation remains without parallels ³. First of all we observe that we are dealing with the "hall, bureau" of the complex that houses the royal government ⁴, as opposed to "halls, offices" of particular officials. Next, we note that the vizier appoints the overseer of police to this *h3*. Thus it could be suggested that *h3 n pr-nsw* is a type of reception-hall open to people from outside the complex, because it employs an official taking care of order and security. As managing director of the *pr-nsw* in charge of its external contacts, order and security pertaining to contacts of the complex with the outside world are quite likely to have been part of the vizier's work ⁵. It is reasonable to suggest that the latter type of order and security is particularly important in the most obvious place of contact, viz. the main reception-hall. For these reasons, we prefer to render *h3*, "hall" instead of "bureau".

Seen from this perspective, *h3 n pr-nsw* comes close to the more familiar term *wsht pr-nsw*, "the broad hall of the palace", found e.g. in the Miscellanies ⁶. The latter definitely seems to have functioned as a meeting-place in certain contexts ⁷.

We find the *imy-r šntw* operating in the hall of the palace. It seems quite logical, therefore, that he is charged here with the same field of operation as in section 2. This in turn suggests that the *imy-r w* is occupied with the *hnw* in that section ⁸. Consequently, the *šntw*, "policemen" - also occurring in section 2 - are likely to be subordinate "security forces" of the overseer of police in the hall of the palace.

Once again we touch upon one of the aspects of the viziral function of managing director of the *pr-nsw*. Being in charge of all of its external contacts and communications, he is held responsible for order and security in its public reception facilities. To that effect he personally appoints its head of police, thus ensuring indirect control over everyone and everything entering the complex. This control is fully in line with the tenor of section 2 ⁹.

3 The common *h3 n nsw* is not to be confused with the present term, since the former can designate any office of the administration and not a particular one in the palace, cf. Van den Boorn, JNES 44 (1985), 24 n. 107.

4 See above, p. 75 and fig 5.

5 This feature is to be compared with the vizier appointing the personnel of the *'ryt* of the *pr-nsw* in R27-R28.

6 For ref., cf. CLEM, 256.

7 Cf. CLEM, 256-7; Helck, SAK 3 (1975), 95 (n. 8-9); Spencer, *Temple*, 78. Schulman, MRT0, 81 considers it to be a military headquarter. The specific context of the *wsht n pr-'3* in P. München 809,5 suggests it to be perhaps identical with the later *wsht pr-nsw* (cf. Spiegelberg, ZÄS 63 (1928), 106: II,5; Van den Boorn, Date, 373 n. 28).

8 Cf. above, p. 52 note 50.

9 See p. 44ff.

3. *ntf irr sdm h3tyw-' hk3w-hwwt* - Various scholars have rendered this line as: "It is he who appoints the hearer (with var.) of the mayors and settlement-leaders" ¹⁰.
Such a view is probably inspired by the fact that the last clause of the section has *ntf sdm sw*, thus suggesting that the present clause covers a different meaning ¹¹. The interpretation has to be rejected, in our view.
First of all, the variant P3 has *ntf sdm*. Moreover, Helck is correct in pointing out that we do not know of any representative of the vizier as "hearer" of local officials ¹². As indicated previously ¹³, the *ntf irr* - formations are regularly followed by nouns or infinitives in this part of the text. Instead of considering *sdm* a nominalized participle "hearer", the two previous remarks taken together indicate that *sdm* is best regarded an infinitive. Formal and stylistic considerations may well have played a role in opting for the particular form *ntf irr sdm*. In addition, the *ntf sdm* - formation of the last clause will be found to convey a more forceful connotation (see below).
In conclusion we can say that P3 comprises a simplified version of R25, breaking up the formal unity of the first two sentences. P3 is certainly not a misinterpretation, as Helck has it ¹⁴.

4. *pr hr rn.f* - The circumstance that the vizier holds a hearing suggests that *pr(w)* is a partic. perf. act., referring to a past activity on which the hearing will concentrate.
Hr rn.f lit. means "upon his name" or "by his name" ¹⁵. In the present situation it can hardly be taken otherwise than as indicating that the local officials have gone out as the vizier's delegates or representatives ("in his name") ¹⁶. On their mission in Egypt they have carried his name as legitimation. The obvious deduction is that the viziral hearing concerns their accomplishments in this particular quality. We take the next sentences to refer to these activities (see below).

5. *n šm'w t3-mhw* - We already noted that our text sometimes substitutes the prep. *n* for *r* ¹⁷. Again, we observe the particular determination of *šm' t3-mhw* ¹⁸.

¹⁰ Translations of D, H, J, L (ref. section-heading).

¹¹ The "parallelism" with the preceding sentence may also have been an argument.

¹² *Verwaltung*, 37: § 19 a).

¹³ See above, p. 186; cf. p. 298.

¹⁴ *Verwaltung*, 37: § 19 a).

¹⁵ Cf. above p. 104 (4.4); e.g. Urk IV, 766, 2; 2139, 12 (cf. Kruchten, DH, 63). GEG, § 165, 9, LGEC, § 492, 10; Wb III, 131, 18; AL III, 170; Barns, JEA 34 (1948), 40.

¹⁶ In this feature, the phrase corresponds with the act of viziral appointment mentioned in the previous sentence.

¹⁷ See above, p. 97.

¹⁸ See above, p. 212.

In surveying the present sentence the phrase *hr m.f* stands out in particular. The author stresses that the local officials have gone out in his name. What is absent is an indication of the reasons or the background for the emphasis. We lack a subject of the viziral hearing which is apparently concerned with the facts and results of the officials' activities. As indicated above ¹⁹, the following *smi.t(w) n.f mdwt nb(t)* cannot stand alone. For these reasons we assume a connection between the two. The result is a meaningful solution to both problems.

6. *smi.t(w) n.f mdwt nb(t)* - For *mdt*, "(juridical) case, offence, issue, (legal) matter", see our earlier remark ²⁰.

This sentence as well as the next one have no subject because of their passive voice. Hence, as indicated, we propose to connect it, as regards contents, with the preceding one(s) ²¹. By implication, the mayors and the settlement-leaders have to report each legal issue which they have come across during their local involvement as the vizier's delegates. This will occur in a hearing held by the vizier to that purpose. In this way, both problems referred to in the preceding entry appear to be solved. The present sentence now has a meaningful framework.

The emphasis on their acting as vizier's representatives can be explained by suggesting that they gain knowledge of juridical matters throughout the country which should be submitted to the vizier as a matter of course, as distinct from their acting as his local guardians of law and order. It follows that "each legal matter" may e.g. pertain to cases involving civil servants (e.g. corruption) ²², for it is this type of jurisdiction that is monopolized by the vizier ²³. Local justice was in general a concern of these local officials for which - as far as we know - they were under no obligation to report to the vizier ²⁴. Therefore, the present clause is definitely not to be taken as an allusion to local *knbt*-justice in general, but rather to a specific, juridical aspect of the work of local urban officials as "delegated inspectors" of the civil bureaucracy.

Apart from this aspect, the local officials would have been expected to report on issues that would fall under the jurisdiction of the two Great *Knbt*'s over which the vizier presided ²⁵, and on any matter belonging to the vizier's personal jurisdiction. It will be assumed below that this latter type of cases to be reported to the vizier, is

¹⁹ See p. 251.

²⁰ See above, p. 130.

²¹ There is nothing against the assumption that it might equally pertain to the first sentence of the section dealing with the overseer of police. See below.

²² The nature of the cases is left unspecified.

²³ See above sections 4-5, 10.

²⁴ Latest discussion by Kruchten, DH, 148-61 and Decree of Horemheb, ll. 3-7 (right). Of course, the present statement would include cases of official corruption.

²⁵ Gardiner, *Mes*, 32ff.; Kruchten, DH, 157.

exemplified in the second sentence with a passive voice that follows (see below).

We stated that the present line can be taken to apply additionally to the first sentence of the section (see above). Here the situation is clear. As appointee of the vizier, the *imy-r šntw* is to report on any (legal) issue of the main reception hall of the *pr-nsu*, viz. internal cases (e.g. among court officials) as well as external cases (handed in from outside the palace).

At present it is impossible to decide whether the sentence under discussion belongs to one of the two preceding ones or indeed to both, as has been suggested above. Because the next sentence (also in the passive voice) deals with local politics, there might be an inclination to regard the present one as pertaining rather to the initial sentence of the section, while the second one (on the mayors) would relate more to the local affairs contained in the next sentence. However, this is sheer speculation. In our view it is best to consider the two initial sentences as being enlarged upon in a general manner in the two following ones, without making internal allocations.

7. *hrt mnw šm'* - The phrase *hrt mnw* was also used in section 2²⁶. There *hrt mnw rs mht(w)* referred to the "condition of the southern and northern guard-posts" of the *pr-nsu*. The term *mnw* is qualified here by means of *šm'*, "Upper Egypt". As a result, it is to be rendered "the fortress of Upper Egypt". Now, *hrt* could be interpreted as "condition" or as "affairs" or the like²⁷. Since the next clause (*ndrt nb...*) deals with a particular affair²⁸, we have a slight preference for the second option in the present context.

The location of the "fortress of Upper Egypt" may tentatively be inferred. The Onomasticon Ramesseum of late MK date contains a list of MK fortresses in Lower Nubia and Upper Egypt²⁹. In the document the fortress (*mnw*) of Bigeh (*Sn-mwt*, on the eastbank, not on the island³⁰) and of Elephantine (*šbw*) occur. Precisely these two sites were considered to constitute a strong defence line on the frontier by Kamose³¹. In the "Taxation"-list of Rekhmire the same two fortresses form the southern border of the territory of the

²⁶ See above, p. 46ff.

²⁷ See p. 46; 179.

²⁸ However, a connection between the two clauses is not absolutely necessary, as will be seen below.

²⁹ AEO III, Pl. IIA nos. 171-87, esp. nos. 183-4; AEO I, 9-11; cf. Gardiner, JEA 3 (1916), 184-92; Säve-Söderbergh, Ä & N, 81; LÄ II, 198.

³⁰ Cf. Gardiner, JEA 3 (1916), 191; Säve-Söderbergh, Ä & N, 81 n. 3.

³¹ See above, p. 19 n. 42; below p. 339ff.

southern vizier ³². It would seem warranted, therefore, to suggest that *mnw šm'* in R26 refers to either Bigeh or Elephantine, in which case Elephantine is clearly preferable, being the major frontier settlement. If the reconstruction is correct, the vizier is to be informed – implicitly by his chief local officials ³³ – concerning the affairs of the fortress of Elephantine. This would suggest an ultimate viziral responsibility for the non-"military" as well as the "military" matters of the fortress concerned ³⁴. This is an interesting conclusion in the light of the absence of evidence on this point from the early 18th dyn.

There are other observations to be made concerning this clause. First, we draw attention to the fact that the vizier is informed only about the affairs of the fortress of Elephantine, not about any fortress on the northern frontier. This contrasts with a feature found up to this point in that, although the text pertains only to the southern vizier, it implies through its terminology that it covers the fields of operation of both viziers ³⁵. We might have expected the mentioning of two fortresses, one in the south and one in the north. This is not the case and it might be taken as confirmation of our view that the text is in fact concerned only with the southern vizier. However, this in itself does not explain the deviation from the norm. The answer may be found in a historical perspective on the matter.

Up to now it has been assumed that The Duties was composed in the late MK ³⁶. When the present clause is analysed against a MK background, its purport seems highly peculiar. Why should the text refer only to one fortress when there existed a whole network of fortresses operative in Lower Nubia? We should at least expect *mnw* in plural. If not pertaining to Elephantine, what other fortress could be meant? If pertaining to Elephantine, why refer to the traditional frontier fortress and leave out the actual frontier fortresses in the south? Moreover, the deviation noted above is equally difficult to explain. Why is there no reference to any fortress in the north while – as evidenced by e.g. MK literature and Execration Texts – Egypt felt threatened on that side in particular? Of course, speculation could provide answers here, but a different approach may be considered.

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- ³² Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. XXIX,1 l. 4; XXIX,2: the two upper lines (= Urk IV, 1120,13; 1122,13); AEO III, Pl. XXIV; Helck, *Mat. VI*, 13. It must be noted that the "Taxation"-list already figured in the tomb of Rekhmire's predecessor User (as did The Duties), cf. Davies, o.c., 34; *Verwaltung*, 2 n. 1.
- ³³ In which case the terms *h3tyw-* *hk3w-hwwt* would include the chief official of Elephantine. Nubian fortresses are known to have been administered by *h3tyw-*.
- ³⁴ Again we are confronted with a viziral task with military aspects (in the modern sense). See above section 14.
- ³⁵ See above, p. 18ff.; 162ff.; 215; below chapter 4.3 and 4.6.3.
- ³⁶ For ref., cf. Van den Boorn, *Date*, p. 369.

We assume that The Duties was composed in the early 18th dyn. ³⁷. When set against this background, quite a plausible explanation may be offered for our clause. Kamose considered Elephantine (and Bigeh) his main line of defence against the vile Kushite enemy. The fortresses in Lower Nubia were out of his reach ³⁸. A reference to Elephantine as "the fortress of Upper Egypt" finds a natural explanation in the historical situation of the day. The same applies to the absence of any reference to a fortress in Lower Egypt. Lower Egypt was (or had recently been) Hyksos territory. In the days of Kamose this was enemy country, or, at a somewhat later date, recently conquered territory. The fortresses of the north were (or had been) out of reach. If The Duties dates to this period, the absence of any reference to these fortresses need not come as a surprise.

The same argument may also explain why the text by implication refers here to the southern vizier only. At this particular time, Lower Egypt simply could not have been covered by a northern vizier because the area was (or had recently been) occupied by the enemy. In another part of this study we will have to comment on this peculiar strain of historical realism in R26.

This is not the place to present the whole argument concerning the date of our text ³⁹. Here it must suffice to indicate that the early 18th dyn. seems to provide a perfect background for the present sentence. At the same time, its purport strongly militates against a date in the MK.

8. *ndrt nb(t) nty r 'w3t* [ca. 1½ gr.] - The verb *ndrt*/-w occurred in R1 in the sense of "to arrest" ⁴⁰. It belongs to that part of the 4ae inf. that takes a feminine infinitive ⁴¹. As will be seen below, we could render the verb here "to catch" or the more judicial "to arrest". Since the clause is a piece of information to be reported to the vizier, we prefer the judicial approach. The verb *'w3t*, "to rob, to plunder" belongs to the same verb class and again takes a feminine infinitive ⁴². The phrase *nty r 'w3t*, lit.: "one related to plundering" (the static interpretation seems preferable to the dynamic "one who is about to plunder" ⁴³), functions as object to preceding *ndrt nb(t)*. The latter acts as a 2nd object to *sm.t(w) n.f* and thus operates on the same level as *hrt mnw*. This last feature may suggest that both are related as regards contents. Thus it could be postulated that "every arrest of one who is related to/involved in plunder" is something occurring

³⁷ The whole argument will be presented below, chapter 4.
³⁸ He eventually reached Buhen (cf. Smith & Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 66 ff.). Ahmose reached at least the 2nd cataract. See chapter 4.
³⁹ On this matter, see below chapter 4.
⁴⁰ See above, p. 40.
⁴¹ Cf. ÄG, § 691. The present form is isolated as a noun by FCD, 145.
⁴² Cf. Wb I, 171, 3-12 and 17; Caminos, *Woe*, 28 n. 5.
⁴³ Cf. GEG, §§ 328; 332.

on the southern frontier and not in general somewhere in Egypt ⁴⁴. As plunder and robbery would seem more likely to occur in a frontier region like Elephantine, we assume the connection to have been the intention of the author. There seems to be an additional argument in favour of this point. We may be permitted to enlarge upon the clause from a historical point of view in an attempt to trace its significance. In the commentary on *hrt mnnw šm'* above, we found that this clause may find a natural explanation in the historical situation of the reigns of Kamose-Ahmoose. If the connection between this clause and the present one be accepted, the argument may be applied also to the clause under discussion.

The autobiography of Ahmoose son of Ebana, a soldier from Elkab in the army of Ahmoose, records two rebellions in the aftermath of the king's victorious Nubian campaign in Lower Nubia ⁴⁵. Their leaders were resp. a certain Aata and a certain Teti-an, the former possibly a Nubian, the latter probably an Egyptian.

The episode has been studied in detail by Vandersleyen ⁴⁶. His conclusion is that both rebellions occurred one after the other during or just after the king's return from Nubia. The scene of the rebellions was the south of Upper Egypt, somewhere to the north of the 2nd cataract. Thus they originated in what the Egyptians considered Egypt proper. Vandersleyen calls them "guerres intérieures" ⁴⁷, initiated by separatist local petty rulers in a country which is still far from being pacified after generations of instability and separation (the SIP).

It may be suggested now that the phrase *ndrt nb(t) nty r 'w3t* of Duties R26 echoes these events. To be sure, we do not regard R26 as making a direct allusion to these rebellions. We suggest that memory of the events in the recent past may have provided the inspiration for the inclusion of the statement in The Duties ⁴⁸.

Our text informs us that "every arrest of (any)one involved in plunder" has to be reported to the vizier. We have added that the scene of the arrest is likely to have been the surroundings of Elephantine (which would neatly fit the scene of the rebellions), because of the clause connection with preceding *hrt mnnw šm'*. If one disagrees on the relationship, the phrase may refer to plunder and upheaval in Upper Egypt.

We call attention to the remarkable role of the vizier. The texts of

44 To be sure, the connection is nowhere made explicit and is only inferred from grammar and context (see below).

45 Urk IV, 5,16 - 6,15.

46 *Amosis*, 75-87.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

48 The phrase *nty r 'w3t* is thus taken to refer to people showing signs of quite abnormal and unacceptable, antisocial behaviour. Plunder evidently equals upheaval and rebellion, according to Egyptian standards, especially in Egypt itself or on its frontiers.

Kamose, Ahmose and Ahmose son of Ebana do not mention a vizier at all – virtually no text from the period mentions the official. If our suggested dating of the text is correct ⁴⁹, it is the vizier who receives at this period, from the local officials involved, reports on the affairs of the fortress of Upper Egypt, and on one such affair in particular, viz. the arrest of people involved in plunder. This is important information on the crucial role of the vizier as deputy to the king, in this period. Moreover, these reports must have had a military nature to a certain extent, once again attesting the military part (in modern terminology!) played by the vizier ⁵⁰.

To conclude this historical digression, we believe that this phrase – in conjunction with the preceding one – echoes historical events and circumstances at the very beginning of the 18th dyn. As such it will appear to be the first and only part of the text with tenuous but definite roots in the particular history of the period. Elsewhere the text remains much more diffuse in this respect. The link with actual history does not stop here. As will be indicated below, the first clause after the lacuna may equally well be interpreted along these lines.

The lacuna itself poses insurmountable problems. On Pl. 2 and 6 Davies gives traces of two *i*-reeds followed by a blank of slightly less than 1½ groups. The two *i*-reeds could cover a form like *īit* (inf.), as at the end of R20. If the lacuna starts off with *īit*, the form would necessarily function as the 3rd object to preceding *smi.t(w) n.f*. It is impossible to say whether this is a likely possibility. Even then the continuation remains absolutely obscure to us ⁵¹. The end of the lacuna will be discussed in the next entry.

9. [ca. 1½ gr.] ; *ntf irr h3k n sp3t nb; ntf sdm sw* – We will concentrate first of all on the initial sentence after the lacuna. To an unknown extent its meaning may have been defined by the lacuna. The group *ntf* could be the final part of a form which has not been preserved. This line of reasoning was taken by Helck who proposed to restore: [...*wn*] *nt(y)f(y) irr h3k* ⁵². He was forced to do so because the meaning of the sentence as it stands completely evaded him. However, the structure of the preserved part after the lacuna looks like a perfect replica of the numerous *ntf irr*-formations in this part of the text. For the moment we will assume that it is a quite normal *ntf irr*-sentence and we will return later to the matter of the lacuna. Hence, it becomes imperative to decide on its meaning, a problem that has tricked every scholar who has dealt with the text.

We run into difficulties if we take *ntf irr h3k* as a circumscription of *ntf h3k*. The result is an absurd translation: "It is he who

⁴⁹ Once again we refer to Chapter 4 for an integrated analysis.

⁵⁰ See above, note 34.

⁵¹ The only suggestion we can come up with is – parallel to *īit* in R20: [*īit nb(t) n.f*], "every coming against him (the plunderer)" (?).

⁵² *Verwaltung*, 37: § 20 a).

plunders/who carries off booty" (or the like). However, on several occasions in Part 3 we have found *ntf irr* followed by nouns or their equivalents (e.g. inf.) where it could be shown that *ntf irr* X does not equal *ntf* X⁵³. Such argument opens up new possibilities here in conjunction with isolating *iri* + *n* as a particular expression.

Lorton devoted an extensive article to the noun *h3k* and other terms relating to warfare in the 18th dyn.⁵⁴ His conclusion is that the noun *h3k* refers in a general way to persons and things taken both in battle and in (ensuing) plunder⁵⁵. He applies this to our passage in R26 and reaches the interesting translation: "It is he who assigns the spoils (of war) to each district"⁵⁶. In order to follow his view, two elements would need to be substantiated, viz. the expression *iri* + *n* and *sp3t*, "district".

Lorton takes *iri* + *n* to be used in the OK way⁵⁷, rendered by Fischer as "to make (something) over to (someone)"⁵⁸. "To assign" would seem to be a suitable translation. The use of an expression with an OK background in The Duties does need not come as a surprise after the numerous archaic features found so far. The alternative rendering is: "it is he who makes the spoils of each *sp3t*", which does not make any sense. Lorton's solution solves the problem adequately, in our view.

The term *sp3t*, when occurring in the early NK, calls for comment. In the course of the MK the system of nomes (= *sp3wt*) tends to vanish⁵⁹. Archaizingly, The Duties could perhaps still use the term in the sense of "nome", but there are other possibilities⁶⁰.

In the MK *sp3t* can be used for "Unterbezirken" of a nome⁶¹ or to designate in general a "field district", a "rural district"⁶². For the

53 See p. 298. Nowhere *nft irr* X equals *ntf* X.

54 JARCE 11 (1974), 53-68. On the "Nachleben" of *h3k*, cf. Vycichl, GM 54 (1982), 75-6.

55 JARCE 11 (1974), 67 (4). According to Lorton (o.c., p. 67-8) *h3k* includes the juridical categories *skr-nh*, "soldier (as prisoner of war)" and *h3kt*, "people and things taken in a condition of plunder".

56 Ibid., p. 65.

57 Ibid., p. 65 n. 24 (with further ref.).

58 Kush 9 (1961), 52 n. 11. The 2nd possibility is of course: "to do (something) for (someone)" or "to fix, to establish for"; cf. also Frandsen, JARCE 15 (1978), 27 n. (b).

59 Cf. Helck, *Gaue*, 57; LÄ II, 385; 420-1. For the OK, cf. Martin-Pardey, UPAR, 5ff. As "nome" the term recurs in the Late Period, cf. Kees, ZÄS 72 (1936), 46; *Verwaltung*, 234. AL I-III gives a lively impression of the various meanings of *sp3t*.

60 On the readings and orthographies of the notorious sign , cf. GEG, p. 541-2 ad Signlist Aa4. For the interpretation of the sign, cf. Schenkel, *Bewässerungsrev.*, 28-9. We leave out writings with det. ⓧ (*d3tt*, "domain, estate", cf. Vandersleyen, RdE 19 (1967), 146; James, *Hekanakhte*, 28 (68): with ⓧ but without ⓧ. See below, p. 270ff. ad R27.).

61 E.g. Kessler, *Topographie*, 126 n. 583.

62 Cf. Fischer, CN 110; Berlev, RdE 23 (1971), 34.

MK and NK Helck suggests a translation "Stadtverwaltungsgebiet" in the title *sš sp3t* ⁶³, which is rendered by Černý as "scribe of the quarter" ⁶⁴. A general meaning "quarter, district, area" is also found in e.g. the Miscellanies ⁶⁵. In MK-NK *sp3t* appears to cover a whole range of meanings, a specific one being "nome" in the technical, OK sense. Moreover, it has to be distinguished from *w*, "rural district" ⁶⁶.

Evidently, lexicography cannot provide definite clues here. We will have to rely on the context. If we proceed from Lorton's view on *h3k* and *iri + n*, it would be the vizier who assigns the spoils of war to each *sp3t*. It seems unlikely that he distributes to abstract territorial units or districts, but rather to people living in these *sp3wt* or administering them. Below we will present early NK evidence showing that loyal soldiers were rewarded with spoils of war "in their town" (*m niwt.i*). Thus it would seem likely that *sp3t* has urban connotations and comes close to Helck's view as cited above. On the other hand, the aforementioned rewards include fields (*3hwt*) which are given "in their town", thus pointing to a rural background. This aspect is also covered in Helck's "Stadtverwaltungsgebiet" (area administered by a town). We take *sp3t*, therefore, to refer to an administrative district comprising town and adjoining country-side. Whether there is an opposition on the same functional level, or a subordination, of *w* with regard to *sp3t*, remains to be discussed (cf. chapter 3.4) ⁶⁷. In other words, we are dealing with the main units of the NK local administration, governed, in the first resort, by the *h3tyw-* ⁶⁸. In view of the absence of a proper term we have adopted the rendering "town district".

Surveying the argument so far, it may be clear that we favour Lorton's interpretation and translation of the present passage. In our view, there are no real alternatives. The problem of the lacuna can now be settled. Its end appears to coincide with the end of the original phrase in the lacuna. The first word following its ending, viz. *ntf*, marks the beginning of a new sentence and Helck's solution (see above) can thus be disregarded.

We now turn to the background of this interesting sentence. The assignment of spoils of war to each town district appears to be a task of the vizier. Again we call attention to the fact that he appears to be involved in matters which we would consider to be military. After a war, rebellion, upheaval or the like, the spoils revert to the king in

63 *Verwaltung*, 244; cf. Varille, *Amenhotep*, 80 (D); Zába, RILN, 205 (210).

64 JEA 33 (1947), 57 ("quarter" as a subdivision of a district); id., *Community*, 213 n. 6 ("district (?) scribe"). The title is read *sš q3tt* by Vandersleyen, RdE 19 (1967), 146.

65 CLEM, 351; 506.

66 For the term, see p. 174ff. above.

67 In R27 we will return to the definition of *sp3t*, p. 268ff.

68 In this respect, see above p. 108ff.; 243; below chapter 3.4.

theory ⁶⁹, after which the vizier appears to redistribute them (as reward) to (loyal soldiers, officials, institutions of the) town districts. Such would seem to be the background of the sentence. This situation is in fact strongly reminiscent of early NK events.

The best documented case is again the history of Ahmose son of Ebana from Elkab. As a soldier he accompanies king Ahmose on a number of campaigns. His impressive list of rewards runs as follows ⁷⁰:

Land

Urk IV, 6, 7	5 arouras, awarded to him <i>m niwt.i</i> , "in my town"
Urk IV, 6, 15	5 arouras, awarded to him <i>m niwt.i</i> , "in my town"

People

Urk IV, 4, 11-13	1 man	collectively called <i>h3kt</i>
	3 women	
Urk IV, 4, 17/5, 2	2 women ⁷¹	called <i>h3kt</i>
Urk IV, 5, 11	2 women	
Urk IV, 6, 7	5 men	
Urk IV, 6, 15	3 men	
Urk IV, 7, 17 (under Amenhotep I)	2 women	called <i>h3k</i> (the traces do not suit <i>h3kt</i>) ⁷²

General

Urk IV, 11, 4	<i>imy-rn.f n n3 n hmw hmw t n h3k [t rdit n.i]</i> "List of names of those male and female slaves of the plunder that were given to me".
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In addition, he received the "gold of honour" (*nbw n hswt*) ⁷³ on seven occasions.

Both Vandersleyen and Lorton stress the fact that the people whom Ahmose receives as reward are not the same as the ones he captured himself in both battle and plunder ⁷⁴. Captured people are returned to the king who may subsequently assign other people as reward. In

⁶⁹ See the remarks below.

⁷⁰ The episode has been studied in detail by Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 83-7. See also Lorton, JARCE 11 (1974), 53-7; 68.

⁷¹ Cf. *Amosis*, 86 n. 4.

⁷² Cf. JARCE 11 (1974), 59.

⁷³ Cf. *Amosis*, 41-8.

⁷⁴ Ref. note 70.

other words, the king is the theoretical proprietor of captives and booty and can redistribute these at will afterwards.

Next, we note the exceptional reward consisting of fields (*3ḥwt*) "in my town". These fields were not taken in battle or plunder. In all probability, these were confiscated fields ⁷⁵ in the territory of Elkab which were given to Ahmose (and the other soldiers, Urk IV, 6, 9) as a special reward in the aftermath of the two rebellions of Aata and Teti-an ⁷⁶. In total Ahmose received 10 arouras "in his town", which must mean "in the district of his town". This would come close to the meaning of *sp3t* as indicated above.

Once again we return to the sentence under discussion. If we were to replace *ntf* (= vizier) by "king" in this sentence, it would seem to fit in perfectly with the system of rewards as reflected in Ahmose's inscription ⁷⁷. It is not surprising that the vizier is not referred to in this particular biography recounting Ahmose's deeds in the service of the King. What is remarkable is that - if *The Duties* reflects the early NK system - our text claims a central role for the vizier in the redistribution of spoils of war as reward, a piece of information completely absent in other sources ⁷⁸. On the other hand, one can easily imagine *The Duties* being more realistic about the actual operation of the reward system: in theory the king redistributes, in reality it will have been the vizier to do so.

If the reconstruction presented here be accepted, the term *sp3t nb(t)* will, by implication, refer to loyal subjects (persons or institutions) of the king in the various town districts. They receive spoils of war as a reward for their services. This is condensed (and thus generalized) to *sp3t nb(t)* to provide the clause with an unspecific and general range. All in all, we agree with Lorton's somewhat forceful statement ⁷⁹ that the present sentence deals with the insertion into the economy of persons and things classified as "spoils of war" by the central authorities ⁸⁰.

The final sentence of the section reads *ntf sdm sw*. Evidently, "to hear" (or the like) is too weak a meaning here. In view of the remarks

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- ⁷⁵ Cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 86 n. 2 on the number of confiscations.
⁷⁶ As such they were probably called *šdw*-fields, see section 10, p. 187ff. However, Vandersleyen (*Amosis*, 86), without adstrucing his view, notes that these grants could not be revoked (as opposed to *šdw*-fields).
⁷⁷ We note Lorton's interesting suggestion that this system of rewards may have been introduced by the Hyksos (JARCE 11, (1974), 57). If so, the enemy must have adopted it immediately.
⁷⁸ In the preceding entry (p. 259) we found a similar feature.
⁷⁹ JARCE 11 (1974), 65.
⁸⁰ We note the presence of prisoners of war (*ḥ3kt*) in construction work at the Karnak temple in Rekhmire's tomb (cf. Steinmann, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), 38). They may have been assigned e.g. to the Theban "town district" (viz. the Amun temple, the vizier's bureau or perhaps the mayor(s)); cf. Blok, *P. Harris 500*, 65.

SECTION 18 R26 – R27

Pl. 2; 6

- I Davies, Pl. XXVII, 26–27; CXXI, 26–27
Urk IV, 1113, 14 – 1114,2
- II B, 279
F, 948–9
D, 92–3
S, 114
- H, 37
J, 66
L, 440
- III Seidl, *Einführung*, 36
- last sentence

TRANSLITERATION

R26 *ntf sbb mš' sšw nw t̄m3 r irt sšm n nb; wnn sš^u a)*

R27 *sp3t b) m ḥ3.f n sdmt ḥr 3ḥwt nb; ntf irr t3šw n d3tt c)*

[nb sm[.....]nb ḥtm nb; ntf irr šd–r nb;

[W26: nb ḥtp–ntr d)

VARIANTS

- a) A22 curiously reads *sšⁱ*. We note the "alphabetical" writing of *sš^u* in R26 , undoubtedly caused by lack of space at the end of the column, at the same time providing a fine archaizing orthography. The same was found to apply in R16–R17.
- b) A22 has only  without phon. complement *t* or det. stroke.
- c) Whereas R27 has , W26 gives  (marked by            

- R27 for the matters that are heard concerning any field ⁶, that there has to be ³ the document of the (pertinent) town district (= local land registry) ⁴ in his office ⁵. It is he who establishes the boundaries of every domain ⁷, (of) every vegetable plot ⁸, (of) every divine offering ⁹, (of) everything to be sealed (officially in this respect) ¹⁰. It is he who enforces every promulgation (of the king) ¹¹.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

The text division that is proposed here is – again – at variance with those suggested by former studies ¹. In short the basic argument comes down to two points.

- 1) From the start is clear that this section is concerned with rural affairs. Various elements point in that direction. Obviously, we turn to section 8 for background information, because that was the first to deal with such matters as fields, related officials and related procedures ². However, whereas section 8 deals basically with rural affairs on a local level, a number of features in the present one (esp. in the first three sentences) suggest some central activity, viz. "instructions of the Lord"; local documents that have to be *in the vizier's office*; the vizier establishing boundaries ³. This central activity stands in apparent opposition to the results of section 8 in which it was found that rural matters of a local nature were initially dealt with locally, the vizier acting only as a final court of appeal.
- 2) The explanation and the background of the "centralized" notion conveyed by the first three sentences are, subsequently, provided by the fourth and final sentence *ntf irr šd-r nb*, "it is he who enforces every promulgation (of the king)" ⁴. In other words, the section is concerned with the vizier implementing royal promulgations ⁵ on rural affairs. Such an approach settles the differences with the tenor of section 8. Moreover, this final clause now appears to be an intrinsic and meaningful part of the section, whereas otherwise its place and purport would remain obscure. It serves as a summary statement or general rule (see below).

The structure that offers itself is:

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- 1 See the studies referred to in the section-heading which – insofar as they show a division at all – exclude the final sentence.
 - 2 See above, p. 146ff.
 - 3 See the pertinent entries of the commentary below for the interpretation of these features.
 - 4 See below, p. 274ff. for the hapax legomenon *šd-r*.
 - 5 Comparable aspects will be found in the next section, cf. p. 277ff. below.

ntf sbb mš' ...
wnn sš sp3t ...
ntf irr t3šw ...
ntf irr šd-r nb.

Three emphatic formations alternate with one emphatic form (*wnn*). Up to now, the analysis has shown that the unit of 3 sentences was the basis of a number of sections of Part 3, viz. sections 10, 13, 14, 16, 17 (consisting of 2 x 3 sentences). The unit of 2 sentences was found in section 9 and 12 and will reappear in section 19. Hence section 18 falls in line with this group (numbering 2 x 2 sentences). Sections 11 and 15 showed basic deviations in both grammar and structure.

COMMENTARY

1. *mš' sšw nw tm3* – Section 14 provided an analysis of *mš'* ⁶, section 8 of *sš n tm3* ⁷. The "military" interpretation of *mš'* would seem rather awkward in a section dealing with rural affairs, although the army is known to have been engaged occasionally in rural tasks ⁸. On the other hand, *mš'* may cover the sense of "expedition-group" in a purely non-military meaning ⁹. We may refer to the mining inscriptions or e.g. to the Abydos Inscription Dédicatoire, l. 70: *mš' k3wtw htyw*. "an expedition-group of builders and engravers" ¹⁰. Since the present officials are said to be dispatched to execute instructions, there is no reason why they cannot be considered an expedition-group. We therefore propose to render the clause "the expedition-group" or simply "the group (of) scribes of the mat". Our analysis showed that the scribes of the mat were i.a. involved in land-measurements. The present sentence (and section) may, therefore, have something to do with this matter, (see below).
2. *r irt sšm n nb* – The expression *irt sšm* is usually rendered "to carry out/execute instructions" ¹¹. It is to be observed that the present instructions come from the Lord personally (*n nb*) and not e.g. from the *pr-nsw*. As elsewhere in the text, *nb* refers to the king in person ¹².

⁶ See above, p. 219ff.

⁷ See above, p. 157ff.

⁸ Cf. Kruchten, DH, 94. Alternatively, they could be considered an escort of enforcement or the like. However, nothing in the present section suggests that such forces were needed to enforce royal promulgations.

⁹ See above, p. 220. Cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 178 with n. 7; 186–7; id., RdE (1967), 136.

¹⁰ Cf. Gauthier, *Inscr. Déd.*, 15; 73; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 187.

¹¹ Wb IV, 289, 17. For the term in the context of fields, cf. Meeks, RdE 26 (1974), 54 n. 6.

¹² See the occ. in R5, R21, R23. The context of the 2 occ. of *nb* in A29 (ad R34) is obscure.

We are informed that the vizier dispatches a group of scribes of the mat to carry out the personal instructions of the king. Our analysis of the title *sš n tm3* - and its collective designation *d3d3t nt tm3* in R18 - indicated that this official is concerned in our text with rural tasks ¹³. One of his prime duties is the measurement of fields. The personal instructions of the king would seem to pertain, therefore, e.g. to land-measurements.

Now there are two possibilities: either these instructions have a universal value for the whole of Egypt, or they deal with "special cases". There is no evidence available suggesting that (e.g.) land-measurements were carried out upon personal directive of the king, or were a centrally organized activity throughout Egypt. Thus the second option would seem preferable. In fact, the two following sentences will be found to provide information in support of this option.

This first sentence of section 18 deals with instructions of the king on rural matters of a specific nature involving scribes of the mat. Once again, we encounter the vizier as deputy to the king taking care of the execution of the latter's directives. This feature will appear to be basic to this section.

3. *wnn* - Clearly an emphatic form ¹⁴. Emphasis rests on the adverbial part which could be either *m h3.f* or *n sdmt hr 3hwt nb*. The context suggests that both receive emphasis (see below). To avoid a hopelessly obscure translation, we have only emphasised the latter phrase in our rendering.
4. *sš sp3t* - The peculiar "alphabetical" writing of *sš* may be compared with *hpr* in R8, R12 and R14 ¹⁵.
In order to reach an understanding of *sš sp3t* we must anticipate parts of the discussion below. The present sentence formulates the general provision that "for matters that are heard concerning any field", there has to be a document of the *sp3t* in the vizier's office. Below we will assume that "the matters that are heard" actually pertain to the promulgation of the king referred to in the final clause, and that "any field" is specified in the last sentence but one ¹⁶. Hence, for the sake of clarity, "for matters that are heard concerning any field" is considered to apply to royal promulgations establishing grants of lands for unnamed persons and institutions. To this aim the vizier needs a *ss sp3t* in his office.
The first official responsible for the fields in a specific urban area was found to be the *imy-r 3hwt*, "the overseer of fields" ¹⁷. His field of operation was the rural area of a particular urban centre ¹⁸. In the previous section, it was found that *sp3t* in our text

13 See above, p. 157ff.

14 Cf. Polotsky. *Transpositions*, 35; 39 (3.8.9); id., *Coll. Papers*, 63 n. 4.

15 See above, p. 75.

16 See below, p. 270ff.

17 See above, p. 153ff.

18 See above, p. 156.

denotes the area administered by a town, i.e. town and adjoining country-side, viz. a "town district" ¹⁹. Thus the overseer of fields was responsible for the fields of a particular *sp3t*. Amongst other things, he was charged with the survey of fields in this area. Records were kept of the land-measurements carried out by his subordinates ²⁰. They contained indications of ownership and land tenure, measurements and location details, etc.

The present sentence states – by implication – that the vizier needs a document of the *sp3t* to register the various types of land donations by the king. It would seem plausible, therefore, to suggest that *sš sp3t* denotes a document of *sp3t* X that records the actual situation of land ownership, locations, measurements and dimensions of fields in a particular town-district. The document (or its copy, of course) would originate from the office of the overseer of fields of the main urban centre in the area ²¹. We may call it a land registry. The vizier will record newly established fields donated by the king in the land registry of *sp3t* X in order to keep local records up to date. The result of our interpretation is that each urban centre or "town district" and its overseer of fields kept their own land registry on the current state of affairs in respect of land tenure, field locations etc. in its area of administration ²². This registry could be amended by the vizier and adapted to incorporate fields newly established by the king.

The document is needed in the vizier's office because he will personally establish the boundaries of the fields in the process of carrying out the promulgations of the king. This was apparently not left to the local overseer of fields.

The two texts quoted in section 10 (p. 189), may in fact refer to this situation to a certain extent.

5. *m h3.f* – For the purposes of registering newly established fields, local land registries need to be in the vizier's office. It would go too far to claim that such registries normally belonged there. In our view, it is the special occasion that requires their presence in his office. The fact that the sentence contains the explicit statement that local registries need to be there suggests that they were

¹⁹ See above, p. 260ff.

²⁰ See above, p. 156ff.

²¹ In section 8 we found that there existed strong ties between the official and the vizier. Hence one can easily imagine his documents to reach the vizier.

²² As far as we know, no such record has survived. The P. Wilbour and the P. Reinhardt have been interpreted as land registries (*dniwt*) belonging to the Domains of Amun, cf. Vleeming, P. Reinhardt, 119–22. Cf. Berlandini, BIFAO 85 (1985), 59ff.

normally stored elsewhere. The phrase has basically nothing to do with viziral archives ²³.

6. *n sđmt hr 3hwt nb(t)* - The prep. *n* is best considered a causative *n*, "for, concerning, in view of". *Sđmt* could be a pass. partic. dur. or probably better a nominal form (Wb IV, 308, 1-4; LGEC, § 413). The question is: who hears what?

To start with the latter point, we must assume here that it is the vizier who hears. When we contrast the clause with the analysis of section 8, a contradiction emerges. It was found that rural matters are initially handled locally, with the vizier acting as a final court of appeal. Even then, he only re-assesses decisions taken locally ²⁴. The present clause would contradict this, if we were to take it to mean that he personally hears cases concerning fields for which he would need a document of the *sp3t* ²⁵. The alternative is to assume that the vizier hears something else.

The final clause of the section states that "he enforces every promulgation (of the king)" ²⁶. If we take this clause as a starting point, it might be proposed that the vizier "hears" this promulgation. The phrase *n sđmt hr 3hwt nb(t)* could now amount to (in paraphrasis): "in view of what the viziers hears from the king about any field".

In this view, *sđm* is taken in its basic meaning, and not as "to hear (legal cases), to judge" (or the like). This approach cancels the contradiction between the present sentence (and the next one) and section 8, as referred to above. Instead it offers a meaningful and coherent explanation for the vizier's involvement in the matter of fields. We appear to be dealing with a special situation in which the king issues a promulgation concerning fields. As the king's deputy, the vizier "hears" this and takes the necessary actions to execute the order: he dispatches a group of scribes of the mat to arrange locally the promulgation concerning fields; he requires the local registries in his office to register the new foundations by the king.

7. *ntf irr t3šw n d3tt nb(t)* - For *t3š*, see our previous remarks ²⁷. In reading the group  as *d3tt*, we follow Gardiner and

²³ For these archives, e.g. P. Abbott, 7, 16: *h3 n sšw n t3ty* (cf. Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 42; Pl. IV); Lacau, *St. Jur.*, ll. 15-6; 23-4 (= Helck, HBT, 67-9); Installation R18 (cf. Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. CXVIII; Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 22-3; 27 (54)); P. Berlin 10470, I:7; I:13 (cf. Smither, JEA 34 (1948), 32). In general, cf. LÄ I, 422-4; Lurje, SAR, 30.

²⁴ See above, p. 163ff.

²⁵ The same goes for the next clause where the vizier personally establishes boundaries of fields. Section 8 indicates that such was basically a local affair.

²⁶ See below, p. 274ff.

²⁷ See above, p. 188.

Vandersleyen ²⁸. The diacritical hieroglyph is the city-sign which was absent in the two previous occ. of the group in R26-R27, interpreted as *sp3t*, "town district".

The term *d3tt* is rather an obscure term meaning "domain, estate, farm" ²⁹. It denotes a piece of landed property with the possibility of accomodating a human settlement, in that it produces crops for human livelihood. Hekanakhte call his property a *d3tt* ³⁰. The Eloquent Peasant cannot see any reason to be robbed by the steward Rensi because the latter already possesses his *d3tt* ³¹. In the "tempest" stela of Ahmose the term denotes a funerary concession, viz. a piece of land on which a tomb is established ³². It appears to be a general term, therefore, covering a variety of notions of which the essence seems to be no more than "piece of land" which supports human needs. We have rendered it "domain" in general.

The clause states thus that it is the vizier who establishes the boundaries of every piece of land, a quite general statement. Further remarks will be found below.

8. *sm nb* - Our transliteration requires a comment. The last sign before the lacuna in R27 is Signlist M20  (usually read *sh*t). In W26 the clause continues with *m* followed by Signlist M16  and plural strokes. Together, the signs were taken by James as *sm* (*m*) *t3-mhw nb*, "every marshy district in the Delta (?)" ³³. We tend to disagree with him.

Signlist M20 occasionally has the phonetic value *sm* ³⁴. This could explain the following *m* and Signlist M16. This particular orthography is known from the 18th dyn. ³⁵. There appears to be no need to translate Signlist M16 and we may, therefore, proceed from the transliteration *sm nb*.

The noun *sm* means "herbage, plants, vegetables, pastures" which could be used to feed humans ³⁶ as well as cattle ³⁷. In the present context dealing with boundaries and fields, it may be extended to cover a type of land. In this feature it comes close to the more common *w3d*, "vegetable land", found i.a. in the Wilbour Papyrus and the P. Reinhardt ³⁸. In fact, *sm* and *w3d* are easily

28 Cf. GEG ad Signlist Aa8 / O49; Vandersleyen, RdE 19 (1967), 146 n. 1.
 29 Wb V, 527, 8-9; Vandersleyen, RdE 19 (1967), 146; James, *Hekanakhte*, 28 (68).
 30 Hekanakhte Letter I vo., 9, cf. James, *Hekanakhte*, Pl. 3; p. 14; 28 (68).
 31 Peasant B1, 301, cf. AEL I, 180; Vandersleyen, RdE 19 (1967), 146.
 32 Cf. Vandersleyen, RdE 19 (1967), Pl. 9/9A l. 17; p. 146.
 33 For ref. see section-heading (J).
 34 Cf. GEG ad Signlist M20 (M21).
 35 E.g. Urk IV, 1450, 8; compare Urk IV, 775, 15; cf. FCD, 225.
 36 Cf. Janssen, *Prices*, 359ff.; Helck, *Mat. V*, 798.
 37 Cf. Wb IV, 119, 14; Kruchten, DH, 119-20.
 38 Cf. Vleeming, *P. Reinhardt*, 103-4; *P. Wilbour II*, 61.

confused ³⁹. Hence, parallel to *w3d*, "vegetable/vegetable land", *sm* may be interpreted as "vegetable plot" intended for the livelihood of men and cattle.

9. *ḥtp-ntr nb* - The term *ḥtp-ntr* is generally understood as "divine offering" or "(temple) estate", basically designating all property attached to the temple of a god and intended for the upkeep of the complex and its religious services ⁴⁰.

Numerous instances have been recorded of the king establishing a *ḥtp-ntr* for a particular god ⁴¹. Private people could probably establish a divine offering through royal mediation ⁴². There are indications that state institutions and dignitaries could be ordered to contribute fixed deliveries in kind to the *ḥtp-ntr* of a god ⁴³. The vizier is known to have been engaged in the inspection of daily food-offerings from the *ḥtp-ntr* of temples ⁴⁴. The king could even instruct high-ranking officials to institute divine offerings for the gods of Egypt in his name, as evidenced by the recently published stela Liverpool E.583 of Tutankhamun's treasurer Maya ⁴⁵. But the problem is that we never hear of a vizier - or any other high official for that matter - "establishing the boundaries of every *ḥtp-ntr*", as would seem to be the tenor of the phrase under discussion.

The phrase seems rather presumptuous as it stands. No vizier would claim the right to such activity, *because* it basically concerns a royal prerogative. For these reasons we are forced to find a different approach to the statement. It would seem most plausible to assume that the vizier acts upon instruction of the king, that he has delegated powers "to establish the boundaries of every divine offering" in the king's name.

We met with this feature before in the first sentence of the section, in which he dispatched scribes of the mat "to carry out instructions of the Lord". By the sheer nature of its contents the present phrase seems to fit in with this initial statement.

If the interpretation is correct, it must be extended to encompass the two previous terms as well, viz. *d3tt* and *sm*. Together with *ḥtp-ntr*, these are the units of which the boundaries are established by the vizier ⁴⁶. The result is that, upon royal instruction, the vizier establishes the boundaries of every domain, of every vegetable

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- ³⁹ Cf. Helck, JARCE 2 (1963), 67ff; Janssen, *Prices*, 359ff; Kruchten, DH, 119-20; Vleeming, *P. Reinhardt*, 103-4.
⁴⁰ Cf. Meeks, *Edfou*, 55 (15); id., *Donations*, 642-3; E. Dziobek, *Das Grab des Ineni* (AVDAIK-Series, forthcoming), p. 626ff.
⁴¹ Cf. Helck, *Mat. III*, 349-464.
⁴² Cf. Helck, ZÄS 85 (1960), 23-34 (foundation of Senmut).
⁴³ Cf. Vernus, RdE 33 (1981), 106-118; Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), 194-200. Compare the "Karnak imposition list", p. 213.
⁴⁴ E.g. Duties, R28 (p. 283 below); Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. XXXVI; cf. Luft, *Oikumene* 3 (1982), 135.
⁴⁵ Amer, RdE 36 (1985), 18 fig. 1 l. 3-4: *wḏ ḥm.f. NN ...w3ḥ ḥtp(w)-ntr [n ntrw nbw n t3-mrt]*.
⁴⁶ For the fourth "unit" *ḥtm nb*, see below.

plot and of every divine offering. Two things can be gleaned from the statement.

After *d3tt* and *sm*, *hṭp-ntr* would seem to refer first of all to landed property of sanctuaries. By its very nature, this was a royal donation or foundation. Hence it could be postulated that the same goes for *d3tt* and *sm*.

Nothing can be said of *d3tt* in its general meaning "domain, estate", in this respect. However, as indicated above, the term could also be used in the early NK to designate a piece of land intended for the construction of a tomb⁴⁷. It is well known that such plots were quite often royal donations⁴⁸. As for *sm*-fields, their incorporation in the P. Wilbour and the P. Reinhardt indicates that they could belong to temple domains⁴⁹. With due caution, it may be said that they could have been royal donations originally. Both terms would seem to allow, therefore, a context in which they function as a royal donation (either to private people or to institutions).

The outcome of the discussion is that we believe this sentence to be concerned with royal donations of fields. They are "specified" as *d3tt*, *sm* and *hṭp-ntr*. Following royal instructions, it is the vizier who establishes their boundaries, meaning that it is he who actually realises the donations. To that end, he dispatches the scribes of the mat. They will establish the donations "in the field" by taking the necessary measurements and plotting out the actual fields. To that end also, the vizier requests the land registries to be in his office. He will establish them in the records.

By way of conclusion, we may point out that in the course of the discussion in the previous section, we found references to particular royal donations of fields in the early 18th dyn.⁵⁰. Hence there may be a link between the two sections in this respect.

10. *hṭm nb* – The term ends the enumeration of units whose boundaries are established by the vizier. Since we do not know of any **hṭm*-land as a type of field, it seems to cover some other and more general meaning.

We assume that *hṭm nb* closes a list of types of royal donations. To enact their establishment the vizier needs the local land registries in his office. The royal grants will be entered on these documents, i.e. they will be made official. Now, this comes close to the sense of *hṭm* covered by our text, viz. "to seal, to ratify officially"⁵¹.

47 See above, p. 271.

48 Cf. Helck, *Mat. III*, 345–9.

49 Cf. Vleeming, *P. Reinhardt*, 103ff.; 120ff. I have not come across a *sm*-field as a royal donation to private persons.

50 See above, p. 262ff.

51 E.g. in R16, R19; cf. p. 183. Compare Fischer's "to acquire title to" (Kush 9 (1961), 49).

It seems plausible to suggest that *htm nb* may be paraphrased as "everything that has to be sealed officially in this respect" ⁵², covering any other type of royal grant that needs entering on the records.

It could be objected that one would rather expect *htmt nbt*. A haplography seems defensible, particularly in view of the absence of -t endings in preceding *d3tt nb(t)*, *3hwt nb(t)* ⁵³. We see no serious argument against taking *htm* as a nominalised participle.

From a survey of the sentence it transpires that - with *htm nb* as conclusion - the list basically deals with "every type of land", regardless of the purpose for which its produce will be used.

11. *ntf irr šd-r nb* - The clause is the centre point of the section. Unfortunately, its essence is conveyed by a hapax legomenon, viz. *šd-r* ⁵⁴. Two features may help us to find a solution. Its components *šd(i)* and *r* are known. Moreover, its essence may be obscure to us, to the Egyptian it must have made sense although he was perhaps confronted with an artificial (?) or rare term. The verb *šdi* (written without det.) can mean either "to read" or "to withdraw". In conjunction with *r*, "mouth, utterance" we may proceed from the first meaning. "To read" is often found in the extended sense of "to read aloud, to recite" ⁵⁵. Lit. the group may be rendered "the recitation of the utterance/the statement/the deposition" ⁵⁶. This reminds one of the common NK expression *šdm-r*, "to hear the deposition (of...)" ⁵⁷. As regards grammar, *šd* in *šd-r* is a problem. The verb *šdi* being 3ae inf., one would expect *šdt*. Another term compounded with *šdi* has the same feature, viz. *šd-hrw*, "disturbance" ⁵⁸, lit. "the raising of the voice" ⁵⁹. We are unable to offer an explanation other than that *šd* may be a noun here. As regards contents, the question is, who is doing what? Starting point will be the fact that in The Duties *ntf irr X* (verb) does not equal *ntf X* ⁶⁰. In other words, the vizier does not recite himself, he "does" something with the *šd-r*. Consequently, *r* cannot come from the vizier but must emanate from someone else. The obvious candidate is, of course, the king ⁶¹. His involvement

⁵² For the notion of obligation, cf. Van den Boorn, JNES 44 (1985), 24 n. 110; below section 19; chapter 2.4.1.
⁵³ The L.E. masc. form for neuter meaning would seem less likely.
⁵⁴ FCD, 274 ("public proclamation").
⁵⁵ Cf. Wb IV, 563-4; FCD, 273; Bakir, *Epistolography*, 33.
⁵⁶ For *r*, "statement, case", cf. Eyre, in: *St. Fairman*, 83 (w). Compare *šdi s3hw*, "to recite formulae of glorification", cf. Assman, JEA 65 (1979), 57 n. 18.
⁵⁷ Cf. Gardiner, *Mes*, 12 (1); Janssen, *Prices*, 509.
⁵⁸ FCD, 274.
⁵⁹ Cf. Otto, *Inschriften*, 68; K. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, Wiesbaden 1985, p. 181.
⁶⁰ See above, p. 186ff.; 253; below chapter 2.4.1.
⁶¹ For *r* of the king, cf. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen*, 299.

was already indicated in the first sentence of the section. The resultant paraphrase is "it is he who makes" the recitation of the deposition of the king". If *šd-r* stems from the king, we may indeed join Faulkner who renders the term "public proclamation" ⁶². Parallel to e.g. *iri hp*, "to apply the law, to enforce the law" ⁶³, *iri* could convey the same notion here. The translation that follows is: "it is he who enforces every promulgation (of the king)", i.e. he executes its "content". In this view, *šd-r* denotes the announcement by the king of certain royal decisions; the verb *iri* points out that it is the vizier who applies/enforces the decisions ⁶⁴. The subject of the latter is indicated in the preceding lines as royal grants of land. The interpretation permits a number of observations.

- 1) The term *šd-r* seems to be an unusual, solemn and probably artificial expression constructed analogous to the common *šdm-r*. It looks like a counterpart to *wḏ(t)*, with emphasis on the oral aspect. The context indicates that *šd-r* is a royal promulgation. Now, the interesting parallelism must be noted between these features and the final clause of the next section: *ntf šdm wḏt nb(t)*, "it is he who hears every royal decree" ⁶⁵. The parallelism seems to support our interpretation of the present clause.
- 2) The stress on the oral aspect of *šd-r* outlined above may be connected with a phrase earlier on in the section, viz. *n šdmt hr 3ḫwt nb*, "for the matters that are heard concerning any field". It is now evident that *šdmt* anticipates *šd-r*. "Matters that are heard" are said by the king in his *šd-r*.
- 3) Once again we find the vizier in a role closely involved with the king. He is the one who executes and enforces his policy and decisions.

The procedures which this section is concerned with may now be reconstructed in a schematic way.

- 1) The king makes a promulgation pertaining to grants of land. The vizier is charged with their realisation.
- 2) To this end he undertakes two activities:
 - he dispatches a group of scribes of the mat to carry out the actual field-work involved on the locations concerned
 - he requests the presence of the local land registries in his office in order to enter the grants on the records of the town districts concerned.
- 3) The result of (1) and (2) is that - in practice - the vizier establishes the boundaries of royal grants of land, both "in the field" and "on record".

⁶² Ref. note 54 above.

⁶³ See above, p. 168. In fact, *šd-r* comes to close to basic aspects of *hp*.

⁶⁴ This approach also outlines the meaning of *ḫtm nb*.

⁶⁵ See below, p. 277; 280ff.

SECTION 19 R27 – R28

Pl. 2; 6–7

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| I | Davies, Pl. XXVII, 27–28; CXXI, 27 – CXXII, 28
Urk IV, 1114, 3–7 | |
| II | B, 279
F, 949–51
D, 93
S, 114–5 | H, 37
J, 66
L, 440 |
| III | Gardiner, <i>Mes</i> , 37 n. 2
GEG, § 459
Polotsky, <i>Coll. Papers</i> , 63 n. 4 | first sentence
last sentence but one
last sentence but one |

TRANSLITERATION

- R27 $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ntf } \underline{s\dot{d}m} \text{ 'n'n nb [} \frac{1}{2} \text{ gr.] m [} \end{array} \right. \text{a)]; ntf dh\dot{n} dhnw nb$
A23: $\dot{\text{š}}m s r m\dot{d}wt \dot{h}n' snnw.f$

- R28 $r \text{ 'ryt } ^b); \dot{i}w n.f \dot{\text{š}}nw nb m pr\text{--}nsw; ntf \underline{s\dot{d}m} w\dot{d}t nb;$

VARIANTS

- a) Traces of individual signs in R.
b) A23 has $r'yt$, clearly a mistake for $r \text{ 'ryt}$ of R28.

TRANSLATION

- R27 It is he who hears any complaint ¹ [...] ² when a man goes to law with his colleague ³. It is he who appoints anyone to be appointed
- R28 to the 'ryt ⁴. It is to him that anyone who has to be interrogated in the palace has to come ⁵. It is he who hears every decree (of the king) ⁶.

NOTES ON STRUCTURE AND TEXT DIVISION

Parallel to the comparable final sentence of section 18 ($ntf \dot{i}rr \dot{\text{š}}d\text{--}r nb$), we consider $ntf \underline{s\dot{d}m} w\dot{d}t nb(t)$ to terminate section 19. As will be indicated below, context and contents appear to support this view. The formal structure that emerges is similar to the previous section

1. Three emphatic formations alternate with one emphatic form (*iw*). Hence, sections 18-19 are connected stylistically. There are more points of contact between the two.

Section 18

ntf sbb mš' ...
wnn šš sp3t ...
ntf irr t3šw ...
ntf irr šd-r nb.

Section 19

ntf sdm 'n'n ...
ntf dhn dhnw ...
iw n.f šnw ...
ntf sdm wdt nb(t).

Both sections have a first sentence with similar structure (see below p. 278). Both have a final sentence with similar contents (p. 274, 280). In both sections the first three sentences appear to be based on the fourth and final one.

For the moment this may suffice to show that *ntf sdm wdt nb(t)* indeed terminates section 19.

COMMENTARY

1. '*n'n nb* - For '*n'n*', see the remarks on the occ. in R11 ². No other occ. are known. In R11 the term was used as an infinitive and translated as a noun. The same applies here as object of *sdm*. Remarks on the possible contents of the "complaint" will be found below.
2. [½ gr.] *m* - The small lacuna presents a problem. On Pl. 2 Davies indicates the trace of a short oblique stroke on the right hand side of the column. This cancels the restoration of three plural strokes by Sethe (Urk IV, 1114, 3). It reminds one of e.g. *nty* or *-ty* endings. However, for reasons of grammar both such ideas are out of the question. A restoration that takes the following *m* into account, e.g. *ntf sdm*, is equally unlikely. **ntf sdm šm s r mdwt hn' snnw.f* would require the fem. inf. *šmt* if *šm* is taken as object of *sdm*. The possibility of considering *šm s* ... a virtual adverb clause to *ntf sdm* is equally doubtful because the construction would be unprecedented in the text.

On the other hand, if we disregard the lacuna, the continuation of the clause is in no way hampered. The prep. *m* can be taken to introduce a clause of time after '*n'n nb*'. This solution seems preferable although it leaves the lacuna unexplained. It has the advantage of being simple without bending the sense of the sentence in any particular direction. It would not seriously affect other solutions that may be proposed in future.

An argument in favour of our proposal is the parallelism with the first sentence of the previous section:

¹ See above, p. 267.

² See above, p. 111ff.

ntf sbb mš' sšw nw tm³
ntf sđm 'n'n nb []

r irt sšm n nb
m šm s r mdwt hn' snnw.f

Both appear to be provided with a prepositional adverb clause.

3. *m šm s r mdwt hn' snnw.f* - Lit. "when a man goes to words/a dispute with his second", we may render the line "when a man goes to law with his colleague", because *mdwt* does not denote here a simple dispute but a legal case brought before the vizier. The question is, who are the people involved and what do they complain about? Our only two clues are *'n'n* and *snnw*. In R2 *snnw* was found to refer to unequal-ranking officials as colleagues, while in the exceptional section 15 (R24) it referred to the vizier³. The former sense is the only one possible here. For the moment we may consider the phrase as pointing to a legal case between two unequal-ranking colleagues. Hence, it falls within the scope of sections 4-5 which dealt with cases between officials of unequal rank. The procedures would seem to be the same to a certain extent in that in both situations the vizier is involved in the hearing of the matter⁴. The matter in question may also be inferred from section 5. In R11 the term *'n'n* appeared to denote the complaint of one official against the other (higher-ranking) one⁵ and pointed to incorrect behaviour of the superior official. It would seem plausible to suggest a similar point of dispute here, but now between colleagues of unequal rank.

Admittedly, the possibility that we are dealing with a dispute between private citizens cannot be ruled out in view of the unspecific terminology, viz. *s*, *mdwt*. However, the rest of the section appears to be devoted to the dispensation of justice to officials and at least two terms, viz. *'n'n* and *snnw*, were found to be used in "official" contexts. For these reasons we restrict the range of the clause to legal cases involving officials⁶.

What is remarkable is that there is no indication of the further role of the vizier in the case. Are we to assume that this type of justice was a matter of arbitration, that matters were settled without final judgment? It would seem rather unlikely. Perhaps the subject is only pinpointed here and its settlement follows the lines of sections 4-5, by implication. The answer is found in an overall analysis of the first three sentences of the section (see the next entry).

4. *ntf dhn dhnw nb r 'ryt* - The sentence was included in the discussion of section 4⁷. The *-w* ending of *dhnw* indicates the form to be an imperf. pass. part.⁸. An implicit notion of obligation

3 See above, p. 230ff.

4 See R12, p. 113ff.

5 See above, p. 111ff.

6 It would seem rather improbable that all complaints in whatever dispute were to be heard by the vizier.

7 See above, p. 82ff.

8 Cf. GEG, § 357.

seems to be required by the context ⁹.

We are informed that the vizier appoints the personnel of the 'ryt ¹⁰. In controlling its personnel he controls the institution itself. The discussion in section 4 indicates that - in The Duties - the 'ryt is part of the *pr-nsu* and may cover a non-juridical aspect, viz. "entrance area", as well as a juridical aspect, viz. "place of justice" ¹¹. Both aspects were found to derive from a single background, viz. the 'ryt as "transitional area between an enclosed and an outer world". How does all this apply to the present sentence?

The preceding clause does not contain any indication of the scene of the dispute between official colleagues. It is a general statement valid apparently for the whole of Egypt. The next clause will be concerned with juridical cases of *pr-nsu* personnel to be interrogated by the vizier. In between these two we find the present clause dealing with the 'ryt and its officials. This configuration would seem to allow the following suggestions.

- 1) It could be argued that the 1st clause deals with the personnel of administrative institutions throughout Egypt. If so, it accords with sections 4-5 that their disputes will be heard by the vizier. Sections 4-5 state that such officials have to be taken to the 'ryt for the vizier's judgement. The sentence would seem to cover the "outside world", as regards the function of 'ryt.
- 2) The 2nd clause expresses the viziral control over the 'ryt, the "transitional area" between the outside world and the enclosed world.
- 3) The 3rd clause deals with legal matters concerning personnel of the *pr-nsu*. The vizier will carry out the necessary interrogations. The sentence covers the "enclosed world" (the *pr-nsu*), as regards the function of 'ryt.

We do not believe such a configuration to be accidental. The three clauses are, as it were, a translation into actual situations of the three locational notions involved in the meaning of 'ryt, the area where the two other main areas meet. In all three the role of the vizier is indicated with emphasis on the fact that he controls the meeting-place itself. All three contain facets of the vizier's job, while together they amount to one statement. Hence we suggest that both the 1st and the 3rd clause have to be analysed in conjunction with the 2nd. The result is that the legal cases dealt with in these two sentences are handled in the 'ryt of the *pr-nsu*. In other words, whether we are dealing with officials in Egypt or with officials in the *pr-nsu*, it is the vizier who will hear in the 'ryt the legal matters in which they are involved. As chief of its personnel he will always be involved.

Our point can be formulated in a more abstract way. We believe that

⁹ Cf. GEG, § 371, LGEC, § 436; cf. chapter 2.4.1.

¹⁰ For the personnel, cf. Van den Boorn, JNES 44 (1985), 9 n. 42.

¹¹ See above, p. 81ff.

there are two levels of interpretation and information in these three sentences: (1) they can be taken at face value as loose statements (then they remain merely scraps of information); (2) they show an internal unity when considered to cover the three "locational" notions of 'ryt. Thus they form one statement concerning a juridical task of the vizier: he is the supreme judge of officials.

The sentence under discussion appears to be the pivot for the first three clauses of the section. As such it will bear out a direct relationship with the fourth and final one, *ntf sdm wdt nb(t)* (see below).

5. *iw n.f šnw nb m pr-nsu* - Note the emphatic form *iw* ¹². The form *šnw* may be interpreted along the lines of preceding *dhnw*, viz. an imperf. pass. part. with an inherent notion of obligation ¹³. In section 5 the verb *šni* was found to mean "to interrogate" ¹⁴. This seems quite plausible in the present context.
It is clear that we are dealing with personnel of the *pr-nsu*. Every member who has to be interrogated has to come to the vizier. Apparently, his roles as managing director of the *pr-nsu* and as chief justice to officials come together here. The statement may be seen in conjunction with the 1st clause of section 17: "it is he who appoints the overseer of police in the hall of the *pr-nsu*" ¹⁵. Law and order in the palace are the concern of the vizier.
6. *ntf sdm wdt nb(t)* - In itself the clause has a somewhat vague significance, "it is he who hears every (royal) decree". This would seem rather obvious for the king's deputy and managing director of the *pr-nsu* ¹⁶.
Parallel to the final sentence of the previous section, *ntf irr šd-r nb*, we believe that the present sentence has a restricted range through which it gains its particular meaning. We suggest that it relates first of all to the vizier's responsibilities in the 'ryt and his task of chief justice to officials: he hears every order and he is expected to enforce it in the 'ryt, the meeting-place between *pr-nsu* and outside world ¹⁷. In the present section, one such order is exemplified as pertaining to justice to officials.
Of course, the clause as it stand has its own general meaning. Certainly the vizier will also hear royal decrees on other matters, and the 'ryt of the palace is the place *par excellence* to communicate them authoritatively to the world at large ¹⁸. In the context of the section, however, we prefer to limit its range first of

¹² Cf. Polotsky, *Coll. Papers*, 63 n. 4; GEG, § 459.

¹³ Above note 9; cf. Van den Boorn, JNES 44 (1985), 24 n. 110.

¹⁴ See above, p. 115.

¹⁵ See above, p. 252ff.

¹⁶ The instances of the vizier executing royal orders or acting on behalf of the *pr-nsu* in The Duties seem to find their most direct explanation here.

¹⁷ For this aspect, cf. Van den Boorn, JNES 44 (1985), 8 ff.

¹⁸ Ibid.

all to the situations described in the first three sentences ¹⁹.

For an interesting parallel we may draw on the Decree of Horemheb ²⁰. The pharaoh has appointed local judges who *sdmyw mdt pr-nsw hpw nw 'ryt*, "listen to/obey the words of the palace, the laws of the 'ryt. In The Duties it is the vizier who "hears" everything ordered in the palace and enforces it in the 'ryt. Although the Decree is later and deals with different judges, the basic principle is the same. The most direct parallel is provided by the Stèle Juridique, l. 7–8 where a petitioner addresses the vizier as *sdm wdt*, "the one who hears the decrees" ²¹.

If we are right in our interpretation, one important observation can be made. As chief justice to officials the vizier is not allowed to take an independent final stand in the legal cases concerned. He is to abide by the king's orders in these matters. This will not come as a surprise, but it is still an explicit confirmation of the fact that he is not above the law.

In retrospect it can be stated that – next to their formal similarity – both sections 18 and 19 are concerned with the execution of royal provisions by the vizier.

¹⁹ The final sentence of the previous section *ntf irr šd-r nb* has similar aspects, cf. p. 274ff.

²⁰ Kruchten, DH, 148 l. 4; p. 150; Van den Boorn, JNES 44 (1985), 9.

²¹ Lacau, *St. Jur.*, 15 (= Helck, HBT, 66). Compare Rekhmire's Autobiography l. 34: *wḏ n nsw m-drt.ḏ hr smnh šhrw.f*. "the royal decree is in my hand in effecting his governance", cf. Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. XII; Gardiner, ZÄS 60 (1925), 73.

3. THE FINAL COLUMNS R28 – R36

In this paragraph we will deal with the last eight columns, or what is left of them. They are in a very poor state of preservation. In the best cases, columns are extant to the half of their original length, e.g. R29–R30, but most of them have been reduced to ca. one third. The variant versions A, W and P are not very helpful in restoring the missing parts of R. Sometimes they provide pieces of additional text that can be tied to preserved parts of R, e.g. R31–R32. On the other hand, fragments are preserved in the variant versions that are impossible to connect with R. As shown on Pl. 7, Davies placed them in what he assumed to be the right relationship with the R-version. However, in a number of instances there is no corresponding R-text, hence these variant fragments remain unplaced. There is no way to restore their proper context. We cannot even be sure that at the end of the text the versions are identical. For these reasons we have decided to deal with this part of the text in a cursory way. We may elucidate our argument.

The extremely fragmentary state of these final columns does not allow for a demarcation of sections. Now, the sections appeared to form units both as regards formal structure and as regards contents. Thus, we are unable to establish the particular contents of a section or to distinguish its central theme.

In the foregoing commentary, the import of individual sentences of sections, as regards their specific meaning and tenor, often became clear when seen in the context of their sections. By contrast, in this final part of the text, only sentences without sectional context are available as a basis for analysis.

Moreover, their formal structure and patterning in the build-up of the section are lost to us. On various occasions this formal aspect of a section was instrumental in finding solutions, interpretations and translations. In short, we have no sections, no structure and no context. All that we are left with are loose sentences which in the best cases are complete but more often are only partly preserved.

In our view a detailed analysis of such isolated sentences and fragments is useless and more or less a waste of time. In their present condition we will never be able to grasp their full significance. Moreover, it could also be rather dangerous, in the sense that we would run the risk of entering the realm of speculation all too easily. It was such an "atomistic" approach to the sentences of the text that has led in the past to unlikely interpretations. It is only when sentences are grouped into sections and become part of a formal structure that *The Duties* allows the reader a full oversight of its contents. Silence on the part of the present author seems a better alternative than sheer speculation. Therefore, the final columns will not be incorporated in the analyses of the last chapters.

In the pages that follow we will deal with columns R28–R36 as one single unit. For the preserved parts a transliteration will be given together with the main variants and a translation (as far as is possible) with cursory notes and remarks. Publications, previous

translations and studies are listed at the beginning of this part and will not be repeated for each new column.

COLUMNS R28 – R36

Pl. 2–3; 7

Davies, Pl. XXVIII, 28–36; CXXII, 28–36

Urk IV, 1114,8 – 1117,5

B, 280–1

F, 950–5

D, 93–4

S, 115

H, 37–40

J, 66–7

L, 440

R28

TRANSLITERATION

– ; *ntf sdm hr nfrw n htp-ntr nb; n[t] f htr htr nb m 'k[n] didi n.f sw*
nb; ntf irr[

└─]w *ntf htm* (cont. in R29)

[A24:]*nb m niwt rst m hnw ntf htm*

TRANSLATION

- It is he who investigates concerning the ending ¹ of any divine offering ². It is he ³ who provides every provision ⁴ consisting of food ⁵ to ⁶ everyone to whom it should be given ⁷. It is he who ...[
-]...in the southern city (and) the residence. It is he who will seal (cont. in R29).

NOTES

1. For *nfrw* in this rather rare meaning ("deficiency"), compare, FCD 132; Caminos, *Woe*, 21 with n. 7.
2. For *htp-ntr*, see above p. 272ff.
3. W28 gives a single *f*. Together with the preserved *n* of R28 this could make *ntf*.
4. For *htr*, cf. Janssen, *Prices*, 456ff.; id., SAK 3 (1975), 176; id., GM 48 (1981), 71; Simpson, *Reisner II*, 18; Kruchten, Ann. IPHOS 24 (1980), 39–51; id., DH, 41; Lorton, JT, 158 n. 40.

5. For the term 'k, "bread, ration, revenue, salary, income, provision" and as a unit of measure, cf. Vernus, BIFAO 75 (1975), 53 (p); Meeks, in: *Homm. Sauneron I*, 244-5; Helck, SAK 3 (1975), 97; Mueller, JNES 34 (1975), 255 n. 25; 259ff. Its combination with *htr* reminds one of the deliveries received as income by the workmen of Deir el-Medineh, cf. Janssen, SAK 3 (1975), 176.
6. On both Pl. 2 and 7 Davies suggests an *n* between 'k and *did*.
7. For a different translation of the whole sentence, cf. Kruchten, Ann. IPHOS 24 (1980), 43.

R29

TRANSLITERATION

- *st hr htm.f; ntf sdm mdwt nbt; ntf irr hbt inw n gsw-prw;*

[*smi n.f (?) d3d3t wrt htr.s 'kw a)r gs.f; ntf sdm*
W 30 : *šn'*]

- A25:]*nb innt (?) n* (cont. in R30).

VARIANTS

- a) The group *s 'kw* is only provided by P9. Anthes (Paser, 159) proposes the connection with preceding *htr* (cf. *Verwaltung*, 38).

TRANSLATION

- it with his seal. It is he who hears every case. It is he who collects the deliveries ¹ of the workshops ². To him (?) ³ the great council reports its deliveries (and) the revenues at his side ⁴. It is he who hears the workshop personnel (?) ⁵
-]everything delivered to (?) ⁶ (cont. in R30).

NOTES

1. For the group *hbt inw*, cf. Smither, JEA 27 (1941), 75; Posener-Krieger, *Archives*, 416; LÄ II, 154. For the term *inw*, see the recent discussions by Liverani, *Orientalia* 42 (1973), 191-3; Müller-Wollermann, GM 66 (1983), 81-91; Boochs, GM 80 (1984), 85-7; Bleiberg, JARCE 21 (1984), 155-67; A.H. Gordon, *The Context and Meaning of the Ancient Egyptian Word INW from the Proto-Dynastic Period to the End of the New Kingdom*, Ann Arbor (1983) 1985. Bleiberg (o.c., p. 166-7) discusses the present sentence. Gordon gives an annotated translation of the various occ. of *inw* from R29 onwards (o.c., p. 172-5; 338-40; 390).

2. We note the archaic plural by means of "Dreifachsetzung". For *gs-pr*, "workshop, storage, division, Wirtschaftsbetrieb", cf. Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 48 n. 1; Helck, GM 18 (1975), 26; Graefe, UG II, 19 (3); 75; Bleiberg, JARCE 21 (1984), 166. See esp. Urk IV, 1379,15 – 1380,4. A meaning "small temple" (late NK) seem less plausible.
3. The text gives *sm² ntf* (R29), *sm² tn* (?) [] (A24). Both must be corruptions in view of what follows. The suggested translation follows Helck (*Verwaltung*, 38) and Anthes (Paser, 159–60) who also deals with the rest of the sentence.
4. Meaning uncertain.
5. The signs for *šn'* could represent the institution or perhaps rather its personnel (as in P11 ?). For *šn'*, "workhouse, labour camp, storehouse", cf. Hayes, PLMK, 107; AEO II, 209–10*; *Verwaltung*, 159–60; Megally, *Recherches*, 77; Graefe, UG II, 51; Franke, GM 53 (1982), 15–21; Spalinger, JAOS 105 (1985), 13 n. 24; Mueller, JNES 34 (1975), 261 n. 57.
6. For this phrase and its continuation in R30, see the analysis in section 4, p. 82ff.

R30

TRANSLITERATION

- 'rryt drpt nb n 'rryt; ntf sdm hr.s; a) ntf wn pr-nbw hn' imy-r htm;
ntf m33 inw n t3 ..[
- P11:]šntyw

VARIANTS

- a) The preserved parts of P11 give a version that differs considerably from the sentence in R, W and A. Anthes (Paser, 161–2) reads *ntf wn hr htm hr htm*, "it is he who opens the records *hr htm* and the records *hr htm*". Helck's remark on P10 (*Verwaltung*, 39 (b)) is utterly obscure.

TRANSLATION

- the 'rryt and everything offered to the 'rryt ¹. It is he who hears concerning it. It is he who opens the Gold-House together with the overseer of the treasury ². It is he who inspects the deliveries ³ of/to ... ⁴[
-]workshop-personnel (?)

NOTES

1. For this phrase, see p. 82.

2. For translation and interpretation, see section 3, p. 62ff.
3. For the phrase *m33 inw*, cf. Bleiberg, JARCE 21 (1984), 164–5.
4. Davies, *Rekhmire*, 93 n. 67 tentatively suggested *Kpny*, "Byblos" (*Kbn*). Gordon now proposes *t3-nḥsy*, "land of the Nubian(s)" (*Context and Meaning of INW...*, Ann Arbor 1985, 174). At present it is impossible to establish the correct text.

R31

TRANSLITERATION

– *imy-r pr ḥn' d3d3t wrt; ntf irr wpwt m^a) k3w nb irrw wpw(t)*

[*im.sn; ntf*
[A26 : *ntf m33 swrt tp hrw 10 nb*]

VARIANTS

- a) A26 has *wpwt k3w*.

TRANSLATION

- the steward together with the great council ¹. It is he who makes the inventory ² of all cattle ³ that need to be inventorized. It is he who inspects the drink-supply (?) ⁴ at the beginning of every ten days ⁵ ...[

NOTES

1. The *d3d3t wrt* also occurred in R29; cf. Mueller, JNES 34 (1975), 256 (Hammamat context).
2. For the possible context, cf. Helck, *Mat. III*, 283–92; id., *Verwaltung*, 171–9; Kruchten, DH, 85–8.
3. For the reading, cf. Aufrère, BIFAO 85 (1985), 37–40 (w).
4. *Swrt* is a hapax legomenon (FCD, 217) derived from *swr*, "to drink". Doresse, RdE 31 (1979), 37 suggests a translation "boissons", "drinks" in outlining the context of the sentence as possibly determined by the festival of the beginning of the decade. Compare, *Verwaltung*, 161.
5. For *tp hrw 10*, see above p. 215; Doresse, RdE 31 (1979), 36ff.

R32

TRANSLITERATION

– *ḥr mdwt nbt 'rryt; iw ḥ3ty(w)–' ḥk3w ḥwwt tw3w nb^a) sml².(s)n n.f*

[*inw.sn; iw* b) *imy-r w* [
A27: *in* b) *imy-r w nb šntw nb sml.sn (n).f šnt nb*]

VARIANTS

- a) Instead of *tw3w nb* (R31) A27 has *s nb*.
- b) R32 has a *iw.f sdm.f* form, as in the preceding sentence (GEG, § 463). The initial *in* of A27 has to be a corruption since the verb form cannot be a partic. statement in view of following *smḷ.sn* (instead of *smḷ*).

TRANSLATION

- concerning every issue (of?) the 'rryt¹. The mayors, the settlement-leaders and every common citizen (?)² report to him³ their deliveries. Every overseer of the district and every policeman⁴ reports to him³ every conflict [

NOTES

1. For the context, see above p. 83.
2. For the rather obscure term *tw3*, cf Helck, ZÄS 80 (1955), 134; id., *Verwaltung*, 121 n. 5; Hayes, *Ostraka*, 40; Kruchten, DH, 145; Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen*, 324. For the mayors, see above p. 98ff.
3. Haplography. For the context of the first sentence, see p. 104.
4. For these officials, see above p. 50ff.; 252.

R33

TRANSLITERATION

-]wtyw *smḷ.sn n.f hrt r 3bd r mtr inw; iw ḥtmtyw pḥw-ib* [

- A28:]prt *Spdt wh' Ḥ'py ḥwt* [4½ gr.]n n *imy-r w n šntw n* [

TRANSLATION

- the ...¹] report to him² the dues per month (?) so as to specify (?) the deliveries³. The sealers⁴...

-] the rising of Sothis ⁵, the start of the inundation ⁶, the (height of the) flood ⁷[] of the overseer of the district, of the policeman, of[

NOTES

1. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 39 restores "the overseer of sealers".
2. This sentence, as well as the next one, seems to conform to the *iw.f sdm.f* constructions found in R32/A27.
3. Translation highly uncertain. Apart from the ones listed in the section-heading, compare the translation of A.H. Gordon, *Context and Meaning of INW...*, Ann Arbor 1985, 174.
4. For these officials of the treasury, cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 83-4; 86-7; 181.
5. On the complex matter and chronological implications of the rising of Sothis, see now R. Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten*, Hildesheim 1985. See also Wells, SAK 12 (1985), 255-302 and von Beckerath, *Saeculum* 37 (1986), 1-7.
6. Lit. "the loosing of the inundation".
7. The likely restoration *hwt* [*mw*] could be rendered "the inundation-flood" or "the rain". The latter being a rare phenomenon, we prefer the first possibility (for the early NK, see however Vandersleyen, *RdE* 19 (1967), 123 ff., and his evidence of a heavy rainstorm - as a historical possibility).

R34

TRANSLITERATION

-] *n niwt* (?); *ntf š3' 'h'w r š3'w nb n.f sw; ntf sbb wpwty(w) nb n pr-nsu r*[

- A29:] *hft wnn nb m mš'; ntf irr s*[1 3/4 gr.] *i nb m*[3 3/4 gr.] *i*
(cont. in R35 ?).

TRANSLATION

-] of the city (?). It is he who assigns ships to everyone to whom a ship needs to be assigned. It is he who dispatches every messenger of the *pr-nsu* ¹ to[
-] when the Lord is on expedition ². It is he who[

NOTES

1. A basic notion, as already apparent from the better preserved parts of the text, see above section 12.
2. Translation of *mš'* suggested by its det. Δ . See above p. 219ff.

R35

TRANSLITERATION

- .f smi.t(w) n.f in knbt nbt nt h3t 'h'w ph 'h'wt; n(t?)f htm wdw nb n[
- A30:] tsm n mniw-tsmw sbb m wpwt nt pr-nsu; smi.t(w) n.f smi nb i(n?)[

TRANSLATION

- his There has to be reported to him by each council of the vanguard (and ?) the rearguard of the fleet (?) ¹. It is he who ² seals every written decree of[
-] dog of the guardsman of dogs ³ dispatched on a mission of the pr-nsu. Each report is reported to him by (?)[

NOTES

1. Even if our nt h3t 'h'w ph 'h'wt (unknown collective of 'h'w ?) is a variant of r t3 h3t ('h'w) r p3 phwy ('h'w) of P. Anast. IV, 3, 6; 8,7 (CLEM, 140; 164; cf. Glanville, ZAS 68 (1932), 18–9), the meaning of the phrase and the function of the knbt's completely escape us.
2. Probably an ellipse of the t in nt f.
3. A fairly common title, cf. Ward, *Index*, 95. Its function here is a matter of conjecture. Are they perhaps involved in the delivery of letters (cf. Simpson, P. *Reisner IV*, 7)? The first tsm-hieroglyph of A30 could be a det.

R36

TRANSLITERATION

- i'ry '3 n 'rryt smi hr.f; i'rt nb hr sdm m h3 n t3ty 3tw(w ?)[

TRANSLATION

- the door-keeper of the 'rryt¹ reporting (?) on him (?)/it (?) (As for)² every act of him (= the vizier) when hearing (cases) in the bureau of the vizier, the administrators (?)³ [

NOTES

1. For the context of the phrase, see above p. 83. The title was read *iry-wn* by Gardiner, RAD, 91. De Meulenaere, CdE XXXI no. 62 (1956), 299ff. argued in favour of the old reading *iry-'3*. On the functionary, cf. Jélinkova-Reymond, CdE XXVIII no. 55/56 (1953), 35–59; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 55 n. 8; 66; Clère, JEA 54 (1968), 135–48; Meeks, *Donations*, 647–8; Černý, *Community*, 161ff; Graefe, UG II, 16–6; Ventura, *City*, 107–19; LÄ VI, 787 ff. Cf. Van den Boorn, JNES 44 (1985), 9.
2. The phrase *irt nb hr sdm m h3 n t3ty* is strongly reminiscent of the introductory phrases of parts 1 and 2 found in R1 and R13 (p. 13ff. and p. 121ff.; chapter 2.5.2). Parallel to the latter phrases we propose, therefore, to restore [*ir*] before *irt*. In this way the phrase [*ir*] *irt nb* ... would seem to introduce a fourth part which may be regarded a final chapter of undetermined length and nature (epilogue?).
3. For *3tw*, see above p. 226 n. 46; below p. 380.

CHAPTER 2

THE TEXT AS A COMPOSITION:

NOTES ON LANGUAGE, STRUCTURE AND PATTERNING

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter intends to single out and assemble notes and observations made in the preceding commentary. It has the character of a survey and notes are generally kept as concise as possible. For elaborations on the listed entries the reader is referred to the relevant commentary. In addition general remarks are made on issues not treated in the commentary.

2. ORTHOGRAPHY

The main divergences in orthography between the parallel versions W-R-A-P have been listed by Helck ¹. Here we will concentrate on the Rekhmire version (R).

In general it can be said that The Duties uses abbreviated and/or concise orthographies. The number of redundant signs is reduced to a bare minimum. These two features add a certain archaizing flavour to the text ². The reading and interpretation of individual words etc. is facilitated by the author's precise and unequivocal use of determinatives. Here again, superfluous signs have been avoided to a very large extent.

Now and then, the author purposely uses orthographies that are reminiscent of the OK. In MK and early NK they are obsolete and may, therefore, be called truly archaizing. We also find idiosyncratic writings and determinatives.

Some are, perhaps, inspired by hieratic signs, while others may derive from early NK writings habits, and some find no obvious explanation. Some orthographies and dets. clearly betray a NK background. They are indicated separately below. The above remarks may be listed in more detail.

2.1 Concise Orthography

<i>h(3)b</i>	ex. R10, R11
<i>sh̄m</i>	ex. R8, R9
<i>sdb</i>	ex. R13, R14
<i>sw3</i>	ex. R13, R24
<i>st3</i>	ex. R10, R12
<i>š̄m</i>	ex. R17, (R27)
<i>s̄dm</i>	ex. R1, R2
<i>sr</i>	ex. R9, R11
<i>db̄h</i>	ex. R16

It may be noted that such writings are restricted to a large extent to parts 1 and 2 of the text (R1-R19).

¹ *Verwaltung*, 40-3 n. 1. See also our notes under the heading "Variants" to each section above.
² In general see our remarks in Date, 377-8.

2.2 Archaizing Orthography

- "alphabetical" writing ³ : *sš* R16–R17, R26–R27
: *hpr* R8, R12, R14, R22
- 't, "limb", R13 ⁴
- plural by means of "Dreifachsetzung" : *hk3-hwt* R11, R21, R25 (2x),
R32
nht R24
gs-pr R29

The occasional absence of dets. where this would seem to be required in a M.Eg. text comes under this heading ⁵.

2.3. Conspicuous Orthography and/or Determinatives

- hmsi*², "to sit" R1 (1st occ.), det. official on chair with legs ⁶
R1 (2nd occ.), det. official on block-shaped throne
- nb*, "Lord" R5, det. Signlist G7, falcon on standard
- iw* R10 (auxiliary verb), det. Signlist F51 (in deviating form), "flesh" –sign
- h(3)b.kwy* R11, –*kwy* ending written with 
- irw*, "thereof" R16 (rare variant of *iry*)
- pg3*, "to open" R16, det. Signlist D32 (in deviating form), arms embracing a line of oblique strokes
- wḏ*, "to order" R17
wḏt R28 } det. Signlist V25 (stick with
wḏyt, "dispatches" R22 } oblique projecture)
- imy-r hwt*, R18, det. Signlist T24 (instead of
"overseer of fields" common *imy-r 3hwt*)
- 3bd*, "month" R18
R22 } det. Signlist W3, "feast"–sign
R33 }

³ Ibid., 377 n. 55.

⁴ Cf. Van den Boorn, VA 1 (1985), 11–7.

⁵ In general see our remarks in Date, 377–8.

⁶ Compare the *phḏw*–chair, R1, det.: chair with legs.

<i>ww</i> , "(rural) districts"	R19, det. Signlist G44, twin-quail chick
<i>s3h</i> "endowment"	R20, det. Signlist D62, toes with "reversed" tops
<i>phr</i> , "to circulate"	R21, det. Signlist F48, intestine (in deviating form)
<i>šm'w t3-mhw</i> , "Upper and Lower Egypt"	R18 } <i>šm'w</i> written with Signlist M25; det. R22 } two city-signs R25 }
<i>hnt</i> , "to sail up-stream"	R23, det. Signlist P1, boat with hut and rudder
<i>šmw</i> , "harvest" (?)	R25, det. Signlist N5 (as sole det.)

It may be noted that these peculiar writings are largely restricted to parts 2 and 3 (R19-R36).

2.4. Orthography associated with the NK

<i>mnw</i> , "guard-post" , "fortress"	R3 (as compared to MK <i>mnw</i>) R26
' <i>d</i> , "be safe"	R6-R8 (5 occ.), addition of <i>d</i> to Signlist V26 as usual in NK
<i>pg3</i> , "to open"	R16, with conspicuous NK det. Signlist D32
<i>imy-r hwt</i> , "overseer of fields"	R18, with Signlist T24, typical of the early 18th dyn.
<i>s3h</i> , "endowment"	R20, with det. Signlist D62, common in the 18th dyn.

2.5. Corruptions, Ellipses, Errors and Intrusions

The number of corruptions, errors etc. is quite limited. It indicates a great accuracy and skill on the part of the scribes of the four versions ⁷.

Corruption/Error	:	<i>sđmt.f</i> for <i>sđm.f</i> , R19
	:	<i>3tw n hk3 htp</i> for <i>3tw n tt-hk3</i> , R23
	:	<i>smi ntj</i> (?) for <i>smi.tw n.f</i> , R29
Ellipse	:	<i>rdi</i> for <i>rdit</i> (inf.), R8
	:	[<i>in</i>] <i>iryw irw</i> , R15-R16
	:	[<i>ir</i>] <i>irt nb(t)</i> , R36

⁷ For the variations between the versions, see Helck's list, ref. note 1.

Here we also point out the ellipse of *-t* in fem. endings, esp. in parts 2 and 3, e.g. *nb* for *nbt*.

"Intrusion" : *swd.t(w)*, R14 (as compared with A13)
: section 15 (R24) is considered to be an intrusion as compared with the (unknown) archetype ⁸.

3. LEXICOGRAPHY

The text teems with unique and rare terms. The former group can be divided into real *unica* and "neologisms" (insofar it is possible to label terms as such in the present state of lexicographical knowledge). In respect of the rare terms one can distinguish for some a specific time-affinity (OK, MK, NK and later) ⁹, for some a particular genre-affinity and the remainder are of uncertain nature. As far as context permits us to establish the situation, it appears that "neologisms" and rare terms have been used intentionally to convey a particular sense of detail instead of more common but less specific terms. This feature adds to the literary value of the prose. In the list below a tentative identification of a particular affinity has been added between brackets where this seems warranted.

3.1. Hapax Legomenon

<i>n nfryt</i> , "..of the end"	R10, R24 (adjectival phrase) – the phrase could also be called a "neologism"
<i>'n'n</i> , "to react, to complain"	R11, R27
<i>swrt</i> , "drink-supply(?)"	R31
<i>'h't</i> , "fleet (?)"	R35

3.2. "Neologism"

<i>šfd n h̄bnty</i> , "criminal register"	R14
<i>šsr-m̄dt</i> , "(verbal) statement on a case"	R15
<i>q3q3t nt t̄m3</i> , "council of the mat"	R18
<i>dm̄q n m̄š'</i> , "the total of a (particular) army contingent"	R23
<i>q3q3t nt m̄š'</i> , "army council"	R24
<i>h̄3 n pr-nsw</i> , "(reception) hall of the <i>pr-nsw</i> "	R25
<i>šd-r</i> , "recitation of a (royal) deposition, promulgation"	R27

⁸ See above p. 232ff. and the Appendix.

⁹ Cf. our remarks in Date, 370–3.

3.3 Rare Terms

<i>phdw</i> , "phdw-chair"	R1 (NK and later, royal)
<i>kn</i> , "reed-covered dais"	R1 (MK)
<i>šnp</i> , "vestment"	R1 (OK)
<i>šd</i> , "leather cushion"	R1 (MK)
<i>r-</i> ' (prep.), "to the hand of, beside"	R2 (2x), R3
<i>šsmw</i> 40, "40 leather rods"	R2 (MK-NK and later)
<i>sš</i> (?), "to spread out"	R2 (MK)
<i>gg(w)</i> , "to react improperly"	R2 (NK)
<i>sk</i> , "a reproach"	R8 (NK)
<i>hnn</i> , "to bend" 10	R10 (NK)
<i>idryt</i> , "repression"	R13 (OK, religious)
<i>bi3t</i> , "mining area" 11	R23
<i>hr-</i> ', "remainder" 11	R23
<i>h3t-r</i> (prep.), "beginning with"	R24

It appears that we have a definite predominance of rare terms in part 1 (R1-R13). "Neologisms" are concentrated in parts 2 and 3 (R13-R36).

4. GRAMMAR AND SYNTAX

Generally speaking grammar, syntax and language of The Duties are classical Middle Egyptian of MK signature. Within this framework the text shows quite a number of peculiarities. They have been listed below in the order in which they are presented in the text. Full discussion of each entry will be found in the relevant commentary. Listed separately are those phenomena which we consider as testifying to a "NK signature", i.e. features which seem to be first attested in M.Eg. hieroglyphic, monumental texts of the early NK.

4.1. Special features

- pseudoverbal construction (Old Perfective) as a subordinate clause in frontal position

w' ggw, R2
h3b.kw[y], R11
šdm hpr(w), R12

- *nn* + (nominalized) infinitive in main clause, expressing the non-occurrence of the verbal action

nn šdm, R3

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 370-1.

¹¹ When accepted as mere variants of resp. *bi3(w)* and *hrt-*', these terms would come under "Orthography" above".

- circumstantial clause in frontal position acquiring the notion of an object clause

pr prrt nbt, R3
'k 'kt nbt, R4

- *hft.f sdm.f* as a separate verb-form (?)

hft imy-r htm 'h'.f, R5

- *hr(.f) sdm(.f)* construction

The construction is exclusively found in parts 1 and 2 of The Duties (with the exception of 2 occ. in R20). The pattern is associated in particular with medical, magical and mathematical texts (MK and later). In this respect, The Duties appears to belong to what has been called "technical literature" since the pattern is typical of the genre ¹². The *hr(.f) sdm(.f)* pattern "serves as an apodosis to an extraposition with *ir* which, as in the medical and mathematical texts, supplies the premise from which logical statements of fact can be deduced" ¹³.

All occ. of the pattern in The Duties will be dealt with by Michael Green in his forthcoming study: *The Coptic SHARE Pattern and its Ancient Egyptian Ancestors. A Reassessment of the Aorist Pattern in the Egyptian Language* (Warminster, Aris & Philips Ltd, 1987) ¹⁴. The study analyses the previous discussions of the matter in great detail and provides a broad diachronic perspective on the subject. In view of Green's exhaustive study we have refrained from further elaborations on the attestations in The Duties.

- direct speech within a direct speech, R6
- passive participle conveying an implicit notion of obligation

wd'(w), A9 (R9)
htm(w), R27 (?)
dhn(w), R27
šnw, R28
dldi(w), R28
irrw, R31
š3'w, R34

- replacement of prep. *r* by *n*

¹² Cf. James, *Hekanahkte*, 105–6; Junge, JEA 58 (1972), 133–9.

¹³ Quotation from Green's study cited below.

¹⁴ I thank Dr. Green for his permission to read the ms. of his study.

n 'ryt, R11
n šm'w, R25

- relative clause with *nty* followed by negated *šdm.f*

nty nb [n] mnḥ (for *mnḥ.f*), A12 (R13)

- two consecutive main clauses followed by two consecutive nominal clauses, the first introduced by *ntt*

ḥr.t(w) smḏ.t(w) swḏ.t(w) ntt st ḥr šfd n ḥbnty šsr–mdt, R14–R15

- configuration of a verb followed by two idiomatic associations

h(3)b t3ty [r.f ḥr] ḥ3 nb, R15 (restored)
h(3)b t3ty r.f ḥr sprty nb, R17

- "emphatic inversion" of pronominal dative and object

wḏ.f sw n.f, R17

- prep. *r* "to, with regard to" persons

ḥrr.f wḏf r.f, R18 (twice)

- main clause with passive pseudoverbal construction with futural meaning (in The Duties unique)

wnn.t(w) ḥr irt sprty nb..., R21

- *-ty* morpheme acting as an active prospective participle taking a direct object

phrty nb wdyt nbt, R21–R22

- emphatic form with two adverbial adjuncts

inn.t(w) n.f... r ḥ3. f, R22–R23
wnn sš.. m ḥ3.f n šdmt ḥr 3ḥwt, R26–R27

- emphatic participial statement of the form *ntf ḥrr X* with *ḥrr* not acting as an auxiliary verb to a following verb-form *X*, but *ḥrr* used as participle followed by a noun or nominalized infinitive *X*

ntf ḥrr s3ḥ, R20
ntf ḥrr dmd, R23
ntf ḥrr šdm, R25
ntf ḥrr ḥ3k, R26
ntf ḥrr šd–r, R27

4.2 Features of "NK signature"

- extensive use of the set *p3/t3/n3* without strict deictic force

Occ. are listed on p. 23.

Except for one occ. (*t3 d3d3t*, R20), the use is restricted to parts 1-2 (R1-R19)

- replacement of prep. *m* by *r* after '*k pri*'

'kt nbt prrt nbt r s3tw, R4

- circumstantial clause introduced by converter *iw*

iw smi(w) n.f, R5

- *hn'* + inf. continuing verb-forms with non-injunctive notions ("proto-conjunctive")

hn' smit, R6

hn' prt, R11

- use of L.Eg. conjunction *hr-ir-m-ht*, followed by a *sdm.f*

hr-ir-m-ht smi w' ..., R7

hr-ir-m-ht m33.f..., R16

- use of compound prep. *m-š3'-m* (the text gives the 1st known occ.) instead of *m-š3'* (MK); use of this prep. in conjunction with the phrase *nfryt r..*

m-š3'-m sr tpy nfryt r sr..., R10

- use of the compound prep. *m-h3w-hr* (the text gives the 1st known occ.) instead of *m-h3w* (MK)

m-h3w-hr hsf, R13

Except for the first entry under this heading the listed features are restricted to part 1, and to a lesser extent to part 2.

Perhaps this is the best place to note the occasional occ. of invariable forms of *nty* and *iry*.

e.g. *ir swt 3hwt.f nty tkn*, R18

e.g. *sšw iry* (with ref. to *hprrt nbt*), R22

5. TEXT DIVISION AND STRUCTURE

5.1. The sections

The basic text division is the sectional division. A section comprises

a self-contained unit subdivided into two or more sentences¹⁵. Each section deals with its own subject. The particular topic of a given section is not resumed anywhere else in the text. The subject is pinpointed and summarized in carefully chosen terminology. Characteristic terms are used which – to the Egyptian mind – describe a situation, a procedure or an activity as precisely as possible. The concise sectional treatment of topics accounts to a large extent for the problems in identifying their exact meaning and sense. This is reinforced by our imperfect understanding of the chosen terminology.

Two factors facilitate their comprehension: (1) a sentence appears to acquire its particular meaning in the context of its section. It cannot be treated as an isolated statement but must be examined in conjunction with other sentences in the section and with the general tenor of the section as a whole. The tenor of a section emerges only when one proceeds from the principle that all sentences of a given section have a complementary relationship with one another. (2) the particular patterning of a section often provides clues to the understanding of relationships in tenor and meaning between the constituent sentences and phrases of a section.

At first sight a sentence may appear to contain a general statement. The two factors described above ensure that the particular meaning of the statement intended by the author can be detected. A sentence can only be understood as part of a section. In this way, sections can be seen to constitute compact statements providing detailed information on one particular subject.

The subject-matter to be treated by a section is, as a rule, a conflation of *two* related and interdependent notions. We list briefly these notions for each section.

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| section 1 | – description of the layout of a viziral session
– case-description of improper behaviour by participants |
| section 2 | – security and operation of the <i>pr-nsu</i>
– security of the <i>hntw</i> |
| section 3 | – daily communication with the king
– daily communication with the overseer of the treasury |
| section 4 | – viziral monopoly concerning dispensation of justice to departmental officials
– viziral monopoly regarding imposition of punishment on these officials |
| section 5 | – correct treatment of a vizier's messenger sent to |

¹⁵ Only section 15 (R24) consists of one sentence, one of the reasons for isolating it as a possible "intrusion".

- local officials
 - dispensation of viziral justice to and implicit control over local officials (case-description)
- section 6
 - procedure regarding the processing of information on incompetent officials and their messengers
 - procedure in the case of recidivism
- section 7
 - procedure regarding the processing of provisional records concerning departments
 - procedure regarding the processing of archival records concerning departments
- section 8
 - differences in treatment of general petitioners and of petitioners to the vizier, the latter exemplified by petitioners concerning fields
 - differences in viziral decisions regarding outlying fields and regarding fields close to the vizier's seat
- section 9
 - councillors of the district answer to the vizier

not apparent relationship ¹⁶ *with:*

 - viziral control over transfer of functions and official assets (*imyt-pr*)
- section 10
 - viziral control over office-dependent property (land)
 - viziral withdrawal of office-dependent landed property from corrupt officials
- section 11
 - procedure pertaining to petitioners in respect of pharaoh's property in general
 - procedure pertaining to petitioners to the king in person
- section 12
 - vizier's responsibility for the issue of *pr-nsw* messages to officials (conveyed by man)
 - idem, to the public (by means of a writ)
- section 13
 - vizier appoints the senior local magistrates in his official territory
 - local magistrates answer to him by means of reports and records on a regular basis
- section 14
 - vizier arranges for escort on royal journey and for forces staying behind
 - vizier personally in charge of giving instructions to officers concerned

¹⁶ Possibly caused by the fact that section 9 constitutes a dividing line in the text (parts 2 and 3), while its two notions bear out connections with both section 8 and 10; see above p. 173ff.; 179.

- section 15 – *exceptional in every aspect*, see p. 229ff.
- section 16 – vizier in charge of wood-supply to *pr-nsw*
– vizier controls agrarian activities of local officials
- section 17 – vizier in charge of law and order in both the *pr-nsw*
and in Egypt as a whole
– procedure in case of civil unrest
- section 18 – vizier in charge of enactment of royal foundations
– vizier as enforcer of royal promulgations in general
- section 19 – vizier as chief justice to officials everywhere
– vizier as the one who hears every royal decree (to be
enforced in the '*ryt*)

The subject-matter and general notion of each section can readily be gleaned from the above list and they have been fully discussed in the commentary. One point, however, has not been discussed. Surveying the sections, one notices an associative link that connects successive sections. The link can be described as an associative relationship between the subject-matter and/or general concept of successive sections. This may be illustrated through the following scheme (the links are indicated by the terms in *italics*).

- section 1 – viziral session in the vizier's bureau (in the *pr-nsw*)
- section 2 – security of *pr-nsw* and *hnw*
- section 3 – place and subject of communications: *pr-nsw* and *hnw*
- section 4 – place of justice: '*ryt* and vizier's bureau in *pr-nsw*;
topic: justice to (department) *officials*
- section 5 – central place: '*ryt* (of *pr-nsw*); topic: local *officials*;
vizier's *messenger*
- section 6 – recording of activities of incompetent *officials* and
their *messengers*; storage: *hnrt wr* (as viziral
department); *two different procedures for two*
distinct types of abuses
- section 7 – control over and records of central *departments*;
involvement of *hnrt wr*; *two different procedures for*
two distinct types of documents
- section 8 – *two procedures for distinct types* of petitioners;
topic: viziral justice in civil cases of *agrarian* nature
- section 9 – councillors of the *rural* district answer to vizier;
transfer of offices and *office-dependent property*
- section 10 – vizier controls *office-dependent landed property*

- section 11 – procedures for petitioner concerning *pharaoh's property* and for people petitioning to the *king* personally
- section 12 – issue of messages from the *pr-nsw* (to the world at large including *local administration*)
- section 13 – vizier *appoints local magistracy*
- section 14 – vizier *designates* army divisions for escort and home forces
- section 15 – (no association with either section 14 or 16)
- section 16 – vizier *in charge of pr-nsw* wood-supply; vizier controls *local* agrarian activities
- section 17 – vizier *in charge* of law and order in *pr-nsw* and in *Egypt*; vizier as the *king's deputy*
- section 18 – vizier *in charge* of *royal* foundations; being *enforcer* of *royal* promulgations, *the vizier is the king's first executive deputy*
- section 19 – the vizier, hearer of every royal decree, is the *king's deputy* in respect of *enforcing* decrees in the '*ryt*'.

Sometimes the association may seem rather tenuous. However, in most cases the link is obvious and cannot be considered a coincidence. This line of associations running through the text as a sort of red tape is clearly meant to keep the text from falling apart into isolated statements. It creates inner cohesion.

In conclusion we can say that sections gain inner cohesion through the fact that their subject-matter consists – in a typically Egyptian manner – of a conflation of two related and interdependent notions. The sections form a text that gains inner cohesion through the fact that sectional subjects are linked to each other by means of semantic association and affinity of content. Both features are, moreover, reinforced by the presence of literary patterning both in and between sections (see below Ch. 2.6).

All this serves to refute the oft repeated assertion that The Duties is merely a rather chaotic list of viziral tasks and ensuing procedures. It seems obvious that we are dealing with preconceived planning on the part of the author. The Duties must be considered a balanced composition with definite literary claims, and not an ad-hoc conflation of loose statements.

5.2 The parts

In its present form The Duties exhibits three parts. We have adduced arguments for the possible existence of a fourth and (probably) final

part 17. However, this part 4 (from R36 onwards) cannot be established with absolute certainty in the extant versions. Therefore, we proceed from a threefold division of the text as it confronts us. The parts are:

part 1	R1–R13 (... <i>sw3 't</i>)
part 2	R–13–R19 (... <i>hp pn nty m-'f</i>)
part 3	R19–R36 (... <i>smi hr.f</i>)
(part 4	R 36...)?

The only formal criterion for demarcation is the phrase *ir irt nb t3ty hr sdm m h3 n t3ty* which – with minor variants – is found to initiate part 1 after the opening line and "title" (*tp-rd n hmst...*), part 2 and the possible part 4¹⁷. The demarcation of part 3 is indicated by other means (see below).

In addition to this formal criterion the parts can be distinguished by other features. Together they are responsible for the particular character of each part.

- 1) In the first two paragraphs of the present chapter we have listed under "Orthography" and "Lexicography" a number of peculiarities that are exclusively or primarily found in particular parts. Individual parts appear to have specific orthographical and lexicographical characteristics.
- 2) The same observation is valid for Grammar and Syntax¹⁹. Parts 1 and 2 have rather long sentences (alternating with shorter ones), as compared with the ones found in part 3. In 1 and 2, sentences often show quite complicated structures; in 3 they are much more simple. The first two parts have a preference for *ir*-protasis clauses, the *hr(f) sdm(f)*-pattern and the vetitive. Part 3 is dominated by the emphatic *ntf sdm*-pattern to such an extent that this pattern becomes one of its most distinctive traits (lacking, as it does, the formal demarcating phrase cited above). In this respect, the general stylistic distinction between parts 1–2 and part 3 consists of an inclination towards variation and detail in the former two contrasted with the sober, rather monotonous rigidity of the latter.
- 3) This last point leads us to another difference. In part 3 the number of short, independent sentences – as constituent parts of short sections – increases greatly. Parts 1 and 2 together have 8 sections, part 3 numbers 10 sections. In other words, the number of topics dealt with in part 3 is much higher than in the first two. While parts 1 and 2 deal with a (relatively) small number of topics in great variation and detail, part 3 deals with a large number of topics in a much more compact way.

¹⁷ See above p. 290.

¹⁸ Remarks on the parts are found p. 13ff.; 121ff.; 173ff.

¹⁹ See Ch. 2.4 above.

- 4) The distinctions above are emphasized by particular types of, or partial absence of, patterning, as will be shown below (ch. 2.6). Especially the demarcation of part 1 and 2, which – after the observations under (1) and (2) above – may seem rather diffuse, can be confirmed in this way.
- 5) Finally, we note a distinction as regards contents, or rather as regards atmosphere, purport and range ²⁰. Part 1 deals with various aspects of the vizier's work within the framework of *pr-nsw* and residence. Part 2 may be considered an intermediate part ²¹. It is concerned with detailed procedures, each section establishing two different procedures for two different cases (of abuse, documentation and petitioners). The contrast with part 3 is sharp. Because of its great number of subjects, emphasis here rests on the impressive range of viziral activities. In abstract terms we could define parts 1–2–3 as stressing resp. the paramount place occupied by the vizier in the centre(s) of government; his attention for detailed procedures in dealing with various matters; his wide range of activities in his role of the king's deputy.

The parts into which The Duties can be divided appear to be provided with distinctive traits. However, they remain secondary when compared with the sectional division. A part does not deal with a subject of its own; it consists of a number of sections dealing with various topics. Close study reveals them to be provided with particular features that may go unnoticed at first sight. This is moreover counterbalanced by the sequence of associative links running through the text ²². Therefore, we have refrained in the layout of our study from dividing The Duties into parts. The reasons for the presence of a "secondary" division into parts may have to be sought in a different direction, see chapter 4.7.

6. PATTERNING

An interesting feature is that our text has acquired definite stylization and patterning. Supplying of a broad synchronic and diachronic perspective on the phenomenon through adducing comparative material from other texts would clearly be beyond the scope of the present study. It must be left to others to deal with this aspect in greater detail. Here only the essentials are given.

Part 1 is patterned throughout, except for two *casus*-descriptions.

Part 2 is only partially patterned.

Part 3 is stylized through its rhythm of emphatic constructions and forms.

20 For this point also consult the lists given in Ch. 2.5.1 above.

21 See also below Ch. 2.6 on the subject of Patterning.

22 Ch. 2.5.1 above.

Part 1

Section 1 starts off with patterning after the "title" cq. opening line (*tp-rd n hmst...*). The basic unit of the pattern appears to be the pair of clauses. The result is a double scheme of 3 groups of pairs, in total 12 clauses (*fig. 1*, p. 14). The section ends with a *casus*-description which is void of patterning.

Sections 2 and 3 display the same patterned division into pairs of sentences. The result is a double scheme of 3 groups of pairs + 1 random sentence in each section, in total 14 clauses (*fig. 3*, p. 43). The scheme shows that the patterns of section 2 and 3 are interlocked.

Section 4 consists of two pairs locked into a cross-pattern (*fig. 6*, p. 78).

Section 5 shows an alternating pattern of two pairs twice interspersed by a single sentence (1-2-1-2). The pairs are phraseologically connected to the pairs of sections 2-3-4. The section ends with a *casus*-description void of patterning and therefore comparable to the end of the section 1 (*fig. 7*, p. 89).

Part 2

Sections 6 and 7 do not display any traceable patterning. Section 8 consists of two groups of two pairs, the last one locked into a cross-pattern (*fig. 9*, p. 149; *fig. 10*, p. 162). The section ends with a sentence that falls outside the pattern (compare part 1) and serves as a type of ethical epilogue to the section and part 2.

Part 3

Section 9 starts the sequence of *ntf sdm*-patterned sections. The conformity to this construction results in a stylized overall appearance that may be called formally patterned (cf. p. 173ff).

There are sections with (2 x) 2 sentences (= 1 pair), viz. sections 9, 12, 18, 19. Others have (2 x) 3 sentences, viz. sections 10, 13, 14, 16, 17. Sections 10, 13, 14 have one pair plus one single sentence. Section 17 has three pairs. Two sections fall outside this list, viz. sections 11 and 15, showing basic deviations in both grammar and structure.

The twin set of sentences in a pair generally display a similar or a comparable formal structure in addition to a relationship, in one way or the other, as regards contents. The reader will notice that the text does not conform to one single type of patterning. The author has used a number of types based on the principle of pairs. We would also point out that four sections have not acquired any patterning, viz. sections 6, 7, 11, 15.

One consequence of the presence of patterning is that we are forced to adjust our assessment of the text accordingly. The text has acquired its present appearance as the result of preconceived literary considerations on the part of the author. There can be no doubt that we are dealing with a genuine literary composition. For a form-critical assessment of the text that takes into account its division into parts, see ch. 4.7 below.

7. OTHER OBSERVATIONS

- 1) The four versions of The Duties have been written in a retrograde manner ²³. At least for R and A the explanation is to be found in an connection between the text and the accompanying scene immediately to its right showing the vizier in session ²⁴. W must have had a similar arrangement, being the oldest copy known, while P apparently merely copied the arrangement of the "Vorlage", for no apparent reason, because the text is inscribed underneath the session-scene ²⁵.
- 2) The text has no real title. The opening line in R1 in fact only applies to section 1.
- 3) The end of the text cannot be determined. If there is a part 4 beginning in R36, as we have suggested above ²⁶, this must have been the final part. If the square on the wall of Rekhmire's tomb did contain a complete version of The Duties originally, this part 4 cannot have occupied more than one column's length (in R). Thus, it may tentatively be identified as a lost epilogue of undefined nature.

²³ Cf. Anthes, Paser, 157.

²⁴ See Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. XXVI-XXVIII; XIV-XXV; XLVII,3.

²⁵ Ref. note 23. On the subject of retrograde writing, cf. Vernus, RdE 28 (1976), 135; H.G. Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne*, Paris 1986, 105-30.

²⁶ See p. 290.

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CHAPTER 3

THE TEXT AS A SOURCE:

THE ACTIVITIES OF A VIZIER

1. INTRODUCTION

The present chapter provides an integrated summary of the information supplied by the text concerning the activities of a vizier. It is not concerned with matters of e.g. historical validity, background and possible discrepancies (for such matters, see the next chapter).

To the modern mind the ideal result of the chapter would probably be the identification of a set of separate viziral tasks in the form of a list. The list would contain individual entries on e.g. juridical and agrarian tasks, on security and military duties etc.

This proves to be an exceedingly difficult enterprise. Moreover, it would entail a distortion of the reality represented by the text. Various viziral tasks appear to be all derivations of three main aspects of his work that stand in a particular relationship to each other. To list the duties independently without further comment would mean a failure to recognize the three aspects as basic to the vizier's activities. It would, moreover, amount to the implicit application of modern, western models – inspired by the concept of developed specialisation as governing the main services of the state and society – to the multifunctional system of ancient Egypt.

The various viziral duties – which in modern society would be regarded as independent features of government – appear to derive from three basic aspects. Together they characterize the multifunctional office and tasks of a vizier. Ultimately, one aspect will be shown to be fundamental to the other two and thus to all viziral tasks.

The above remarks have suggested the structure of the present chapter. The three main aspects will be discussed in an initial integrated analysis. Thereafter, a number of related subjects will be dealt with under separate headings.

2. THE THREE MAIN ASPECTS

The scala of viziral tasks and duties can be reduced to three basic aspects. They may be labelled resp.:

- the vizier as managing director of the *pr-nsw*
- the vizier as head of the civil administration
- the vizier as the king's deputy.

2.1 The Vizier as Managing Director of the *PR-NSW*

The essence of the *pr-nsw*, "royal palace" was found to be a compound of a number of facets (see esp. p. 74ff. above). For its hypothetical layout, see *fig. 5*.

- An architectural complex within the *hnw*, "residence-city", provided with a girdle wall, gateways and guard-posts. The area in front of its eastern main gate is called '*ryt*'. The complex houses a number of units generally called *htm*, "enclosures". Some are known by name, viz. *h3 n pr-nsw*, "(reception-)hall of the *pr-nsw*", *pr-nbw*, "Gold House", *h3 n t3ty*, "bureau of the vizier" situated in

the *pr* (*n t3ty*), "residence of the vizier". The *pr*-3, the private living quarters of the king, is a separate complex within the *pr*-*nsw*. The hypothetical layout and relative location of the *pr*-*nsw* have been illustrated in *fig. 5*, p. 67.

- Institutionally, the *pr*-*nsw* designates the centre where the king resides in his capacity as ruler of Egypt, assisted by his own bureaucratic apparatus.
- Economically, the *pr*-*nsw* designates the royal domain within the *hnw* (for the direct support of the court), as well as the royal estates distributed over Egypt.
- Administratively, the *pr*-*nsw* designates the main centre of royal government which is provided with a range of services and departments, e.g. *h3 n t3ty*, *h3 pr-nsw*, *pr-nbw*.

There can be no doubt that in theory the *pr*-*nsw* was ruled by the king personally. On the other hand, section 3 has made it clear that its management and operation were delegated to the vizier. He acted as its managing director in co-operation with the overseer of the treasury as his co-director.

The Duties contains a wealth of information on this aspect of the vizier's activities.

2.1.1 INTERNAL OPERATION

- the vizier receives daily reports by the responsible officials on the opening and closing of the *htmw*, "enclosures", denoting all housings in the complex (sections 2 and 3).
- the vizier receives reports on all traffic entering the *pr*-*nsw* (section 2).
- the vizier opens the Gold House (royal workshops and storehouses at the palace) together with the overseer of the treasury (R30, cf. analysis in section 3).
- daily exchange of information between the vizier and the overseer of the treasury on their own affairs and on particular points of their own work that are of interest to the other (section 3).

The internal operation of the *pr*-*nsw* appears primarily to be based on a daily exchange of relevant information between the two officials in charge. The vizier receives reports from every responsible official on certain matters involving the overseer of the treasury, on every department of the residence-city and on the opening and closing of the *htmw* in the *pr*-*nsw*. This he communicates to the *imy-r htm*, the overseer of the treasury.

Now, the latter receives from every responsible official reports on certain matters involving the vizier, in addition to reports on his own affairs and the *pr*-*nsw*. This he communicates to the vizier. The latter is ultimately in charge since he will have to inform the king on the state of the *pr*-*nsw* (implicitly) and it is he who will order the gates to be opened to allow the flow of traffic into the complex. From the particular wording of sections 2 and 3 one gains the definite impression that the vizier deals first and foremost with security and the proper operation of the complex and its units (see also below), while the overseer of the treasury is more involved in the day-to-day management (the *pr*-*nsw* is explicitly stated to be his

concern in R6).

The vizier is informed on all people and commodities entering the complex. This ensures that he has knowledge of ongoing business and activities inside the complex. One basic institution is mentioned separately as being under the shared responsibility of both officials, viz. the Gold House, the workshops and storage areas.

2.1.2 SECURITY, INTERNAL ORDER AND JUSTICE

- the vizier receives reports on the condition of the northern and southern *mnww*, "guard-posts" (section 2),
- the vizier receives a report from the *imy-r šntw*, "overseer of police(men)" and the *šntw*, "policemen" on their affairs (section 2).
- the vizier appoints the *imy-r šntw* to the *ḥ3 n pr-nsw*, "(reception-)hall of the *pr-nsw*" (section 17).
- in the event of improper behaviour at a viziral session in the vizier's office, officials of his own bureau are arrested by the vizier's messengers (section 1).
- the vizier questions any member of *pr-nsw* personnel that has to be interrogated (section 19).

In line with a tenor detected under "Internal operation" above, we find here the vizier in charge of the security and order of the complex. No mention is made of the *imy-r ḥtm* in this respect (except perhaps for the report on the opening and closing of the *ḥtmw*, which is communicated to him). The vizier is informed of the condition of the guard-posts protecting the northern and southern access to the complex. By implication this probably covers personnel, affairs and operation of these posts. The control over the eastern or main access through the *'ryt* (see fig. 5, p. 67) falls in line with this statement since he appears to appoint *'ryt*-personnel and thus functions as head of the *'ryt* (section 19, cf. analysis in section 4). His control over the accesses is, moreover, stressed in the reports made to him on all traffic entering and leaving the precinct (section 2).

The actual "police" work is carried out by the *imy-r šntw*, the overseer of police(men). This official is appointed to the reception-hall of the *pr-nsw* by the vizier. Thus, the overseer of police seems to be stationed in this hall. The official and his subordinates, the *šntw*, "policemen", report to him on their affairs. Now, in section 2 we surmised that the overseer of police had the *pr-nsw* as his area of competence. This would mean that he is in charge of the security of the various subdivisions of the *pr-nsw*, viz. the *ḥtmw*, the *mnww*, the *ḥ3 n ṯ3ty*, the *ḥ3 n pr-nsw*, the *pr n ṯ3ty*, the *pr-nbw* (see fig. 5). "Their affairs" thus may amount to matters concerning the security of these subdivisions and of the complex as a whole.

The juridical tasks of the vizier with regard to the *pr-nsw* could have been dealt with under the more general heading of dispensation of viziral justice to officials. As an interface between two main aspects of the vizier's activities (viz. *pr-nsw* and civil administration) they must be included here also. Any member of the *pr-nsw*-personnel who needs to be interrogated will be questioned by him. From section 5 (R12-R13) we may infer that this is likely to take place in the *ḥ3 n*

t3ty. Apparently, the *pr-nsw*-personnel is treated as ordinary officialdom and thus falls under the vizier's charge in the respect. Delinquent members of the personnel of his own office are to be arrested by his messengers. Section 4 stated that office personnel will not be judged and punished by their own superior. Section 1 constitutes, therefore, an unavoidable deviation from this rule since the vizier, as ultimate judge of all officials, is at the same time the direct superior of personnel in his own bureau.

2.1.3 PERSONNEL

- the vizier appoints the overseer of police(men) in the reception-hall of the *pr-nsw* (section 17).
- the vizier appoints the personnel of the '*ryt*' (section 19).

It is interesting to note that the vizier is explicitly said to appoint officials to the two main areas of contact between the *pr-nsw* and the outside world, viz. the '*ryt*' area (and its facilities) and the reception-hall. Evidently stress is laid on the fact that the vizier has strict control - through its personnel - over these areas of contact. '*ryt*'-personnel may have been engaged in attending to the reception of people and commodities, communications and the execution of punishments. The overseer of police(men) was found to be in charge of order and security of the complex.

It must be noted that the text does not provide information on the appointment of other *pr-nsw*-personnel. It would seem plausible to assume that the vizier appoints officials to his own office and to the guard-posts. The personnel of the Gold House may have been the concern of his colleague, the overseer of the treasury. At present nothing definite can be said of the actual numbers and the stationing of *pr-nsw*-personnel.

2.1.4 OPERATION WITH REGARD TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD

- the vizier receives reports on all traffic leaving the *pr-nsw* (section 2).
- the vizier gives daily orders to his messenger to have the gateways opened (by means of a writ), in order to allow the flow of traffic (section 3).
- as head of the '*ryt*' the vizier uses the premises as a central place of punishment of officials (sections 4 and 19) and for receiving local officials (section 5).
- the vizier dispatches every messenger of the *pr-nsw* carrying messages to local officials (section 12).
- the vizier dispatches every official of the *pr-nsw* carrying written messages for circulation throughout Egypt (section 12).
- on the occasion of a journey of the king (and his staff, together the *pr-nsw*), the vizier organizes the military escort as well as the home forces which will stay behind as garrisons in the residential centres (not in the *pr-nsw*; section 14).
- the vizier takes care of the supply of wood to the complex (the king, his court and institutional dependencies; section 16).

What in fact transpires from this set of viziral tasks is that the

vizier handles all communications of the complex with the outside world, whether material or immaterial. Again no mention is made of the overseer of the treasury. The vizier is informed of all traffic leaving the complex (cf. ch. 2.2.1.2 above). Through the agency of a messenger he controls the operation of the exits of the complex. When the *pr-nsw* sends out oral or written messages, whether to administrative echelons or to the population at large, it is the vizier who dispatches the man carrying the message. The background to this is provided by the twin set of final statements of sections 18 and 19, viz. the vizier as the one who executes every royal promulgation and the vizier as the one who hears every royal decree. Both statements come under the third main aspect of the vizier's activities, the vizier as the king's deputy (see 2.3 below). The communicative element of the vizier's *pr-nsw* tasks may, therefore, be regarded as a meeting point of two main aspects of his work.

When the royal government, viz. the king and his staff, leaves for a journey in Egypt, it is the vizier who takes care of its security. Obviously, it does not matter where the king actually stays. The vizier is charged with the security and safety of the *pr-nsw*, whether this denotes the complex as operating seat of the royal government or the royal government on tour. When the king has left, the vizier is instructed to take care of the *pr-nsw* while on route, as well as the *pr-nsw* complex itself and the governmental centre (*hnw*). This particular situation entails a temporary "military" task for the vizier. He has to organize the military escort as well as the home forces, in addition to personally instructing the officers in charge. Here we have a clear instance where it would be a distortion of reality to isolate the vizier's military security duty from its *pr-nsw* background and to list it as a separate task of a military nature. The duty in question simply cannot be disconnected from its particular background.

Through the appointment of its personnel the vizier is in charge of the *'ryt* as an institution. Here officials are received by him. It is the main channel of communication between the *pr-nsw* and outside world, in a physical as well as in a metaphysical way.

The supply of wood to the complex is the concern of the vizier. He sees to the cutting of sycamores throughout the country. The wood enters the complex as incoming traffic and thus comes under his control. It ends up in *pr-nsw* divisions that are under his charge (e.g. the Gold House, see above). Section 16 speaks only of the supply of wood. Whether the vizier was also concerned with the supply of other raw materials remains uncertain. There seems to be room for assuming that other materials entered the complex under the auspices of the overseer of the treasury - as would seem rather likely in view of his line of work. Still, the vizier would have overall control of their access to the complex.

2.1.5 *PR-NSW* AS PART OF THE *HNW*, "RESIDENCE-CITY"

- through a messenger the vizier controls the flow of traffic into the *hnw* (section 2).
- the vizier receives a report by the *imy-r w*, "the overseer of the district" on the latter's affairs (section 2).

- the vizier receives daily reports about every department of the hnw (*st nbt n hnw*) and passes these on to the overseer of the treasury (section 3).

In *fig. 5* (p. 67) we have visualised the *pr-nsu* as part of a larger entity, the hnw. A number of viziral tasks pertain to this configuration. While traffic into the *pr-nsu* is controlled by him personally (sections 2 and 3), traffic into the hnw is under his indirect control through the agency of a messenger of his. He concentrates his attention on the *pr-nsu* and delegates the tasks pertaining to hnw traffic to an assistant. He receives daily reports on the departments of the hnw. Probably these are also made by messengers, by analogy with the manner in which the traffic aspect is dealt with. This ensures that he is kept informed of ongoing business in the hnw.

In section 2 we have suggested that an overseer of the district covered the hnw as his area of competence. The official appears to be charged with policework in a way similar to the *imy-r šntw*. Now, the vizier receives direct reports by the overseer of the district on the latter's affairs which pertain to order and security of the hnw. The vizier, therefore, takes a direct and personal interest in the security of the hnw, while other aspects relating to the hnw are delegated. This may be taken to mean that he takes a primary interest in its order and security because this, of course, has a direct bearing on the order and security of the *pr-nsu* as part of the hnw.

In surveying the evidence, we may conclude that the vizier acts as managing director of the *pr-nsu* in co-operation with the overseer of the treasury as his co-director. The latter is charged primarily with aspects of internal operation. The vizier's tasks display a particular preoccupation with order and security as well as outward operation of the complex/institution.

2.2 The Vizier as Head of the Civil Administration

The basic concept underlying the vizier's control over the civil administration appears to entail three interdependent notions, viz. justice, operational control and appointment of civil servants.

2.2.1 JUSTICE

The juridical tasks of the vizier with regard to the civil administration can be divided into those pertaining to civil servants in a personal capacity and those dealing with civil servants in their official capacity. Of course, we have to make allowance for a considerable overlap. Personal and official abuses are often hard to distinguish from one another. The text is not always as clear as one would have wished. Moreover, our comprehension of situations and procedures may be defective. However, we believe that the following principles can be established.

Civil servants are the sole concern of the vizier when they commit crimes, abuses or simple mistakes outside their strictly official capacity (at least without direct reference to their official

capacity). Improper behaviour of subordinate officials in the vizier's bureau during a viziral session leads to their arrest by the vizier's messengers, and implicitly to a subsequent judgment by the vizier (section 1). When reproaches are levelled against subordinate officials working in any other central department (*ḥ3*), their direct superiors are forbidden to judge and punish the offenders (section 4). Their trial and punishment are the concern of the vizier. When local officials display improper behaviour (*in casu* towards the vizier's messenger), their trial and punishment are the personal concern of the vizier (section 5). The theme is reiterated in section 19 to embrace every official of Egypt. One gains the impression that in the cases listed here, it does not matter so much where the offence is committed, but rather against whom.

Taking the separate statements on the theme as a unit, the prescribed procedure appears to be: (arrest?); transport to the *pr-nsu*; interrogation by the vizier in the *ḥ3 n t3ty*; punishment in the *'ryt*.

Civil servants committing crimes, abuses or culpable acts in their official capacity are dealt with initially in section 6. When doubts arise concerning someone's performance of his official duty, the vizier hears him and gives him the opportunity to exculpate himself. If he is unable to do so, the man and his deeds are entered on the criminal register in the "great prison". In other words, an official has a record of his official derelictions kept. Should derelictions recur, this record of past conduct forms part of the juridical assessment of the new offence. The record plus a verbal report on the former offence(s) are to be handed over to the vizier.

The *ḥrt wr* may be considered a functional extension of the vizier's administration, a central facility at his disposal. In the present matter it handles the files kept on the state of conduct of civil servants. Thus it constitutes a juridical-administrative instrument that enables control to be kept over the civil bureaucracy.

Additional information on the subject is supplied by sections 8 and 10. Culpable official acts can consist of unjust actions by officials ("civil cases") or illegal actions ("criminal cases"). In the former case, it is the vizier's task to hear both the petitioner communicating the alleged injustice and the officials involved in the act (in section 8: local authorities concerning agricultural matters). If the official action is regarded as unjust, the vizier has to order the suspension of the action while establishing a maximum period for a re-assessment by the authorities and the other parties involved. In cases of this type the vizier functions as a court of appeal to anybody and abides by a "law" as "established" in section 8. In cases of a criminal nature (exemplified in section 10), the vizier – or more probably his messenger – has to establish in a hearing whether officials are indeed involved in the alleged criminal act complained about by the petitioner. If so, the vizier will punish the delinquent official(s) by the withdrawal of office-dependent landed property (*ḥdw*-fields). If this is not the case, the matter is settled outside the bureaucratic sphere since no official appears to be involved.

Both types of cases conform to the stipulations of section 6 on the registration of culpable officials to the extent that the particular cases are investigated in viziral hearings. However, only criminal cases would seem to be recorded eventually on the criminal register. Cases of civil dispute between authorities and civilians can only be submitted to the vizier in order to gain his approval (as stipulated by law) for a suspension and re-assessment of the disputed official action.

To put it briefly, in cases of unjust or incorrect official actions the vizier acts ultimately as a court of appeal. In cases of criminal official actions the vizier is chief justice with the facilities of the "great prison"-filing system at his disposal. In cases of personal offence on the part of an official, the vizier is chief justice to any official. Sections 8 and 19 indicate that the vizier abides by and enforces (royal) laws and decrees in this respect. Our conclusion is that the vizier is chief justice to civil servants. Whether he was also chief justice to Egyptians in general is not stated (except for the case of "plunderers", section 17).

2.2.2 OPERATIONAL CONTROL

The text makes a distinction between the vizier's operational control over departments (*ḥ3w*) and over civil servants as functionaries. Apparently, departments are divisions of the central government since the text does not contain references or allusions to *ḥ3w* at local levels of government. The only department that is specified in some detail is the department of the vizier (N.B. *ḥ3 n pr-nsu*, while perhaps being a separate department, was interpreted in a different manner, cf. p. 252). All other departments remain anonymous. It is, in fact, quite interesting to observe that The Duties only contains two references to these institutions as a collective, viz. sections 4 and 7. The likely explanation of the feature will be discussed below. Civil servants, on the other hand, are explicitly identified by their titles. These titles denote the main divisions of the local administration. It is a characteristic of the text that functionaries bearing these titles are not treated as individual officials, but rather as impersonal separate echelons of government. In this "impersonal" aspect, this type of civil servant is comparable to the above mentioned central departments. Thus, we are facing a distinction between an amorphous group of departments on a central level (in the residence-city) and clearly defined officials/echelons on a local level of administration.

One might perhaps object that local echelons identified by their leading officials cover by implication the sense of "departments" as separate divisions of administration. The argument is invalidated by the fact that we never hear of the *ḥ3* of e.g. a *ḥ3ty-* or a *ḥnbty n w*. Moreover, the vizier's operational control differs considerably for the two levels, suggesting that they are not of the same nature.

One final remark before entering into details. In this paragraph we are concerned with the vizier's control over the system. The actual structure of the civil administration as displayed by the text will be described and illustrated below, chapter 3.4.

In the vizier's operational control over departments a crucial role is played by the *hnrt wr*, "the great prison" and its *sdmw*, "hearers" (section 7). Detailed procedures regulate the processing of information on the departments. They ensure that the vizier is informed of and has ultimate control over ongoing business. Data on departments are processed in the form of provisional documents drawn up by scribes of the *hnrt wr*. The documents are the result of inquiries carried out by hearers (*sdmw* of the *hnrt wr*). These officials, with powers delegated by the vizier, operate a system of bureaucratic control over the work and activities of departments. Provisional documents are submitted to the vizier together with "Sammelberichten" (*šfdw*) of the previous documentation on a particular department stored in the *hnrt wr*. They are submitted by (the) officials of the departments to which the provisional documents pertain. At this point the vizier is able to survey and assess the subject matter of the provisional document in the presence of the departmental officials referred to and in conjunction with all previous and related documentation. After inspection (and ensuing assessment) the document is sealed by the vizier and stored in the *hnrt wr*. Thus the vizier controls the departments in a rather impersonal manner, mainly through written documentation.

Two points are of particular interest. The hearing or inquiry by the hearers and the ensuing inspection of the relevant documents by the vizier appear to postdate the actual activity of the department. In other words, the departments operate in a relatively independent fashion and are only checked by the vizier through a *post factum* control. This may explain the rather cursory attention that departments receive in the rest of the text. The text is not at all interested in their particular activities. Its sole concern is to establish a detailed prescription ensuring that the vizier is informed of their specific activities in order to allow him a final check on their actions. The conclusion must be that the vizier does not initiate or instruct their activities.

For this reason and because of the fact that the text nowhere details the functional and operational relationship between heads of *h3w* and the vizier, we have to be somewhat careful about calling the vizier the *head* of the system of civil administration. Central departments answer to him only in the last resort and *post factum*. Thus, on the central level of administration, the heads of *h3w*-departments have a considerable freedom of action (except for the dispensation of justice to departmental officials, which is the direct and sole concern of the vizier, cf. section 4). As their ultimate superior, the vizier does not run this level of government, he only controls it. We think the appellation "head" can be used, if we bear in mind the particular connotation of the function in this respect. A different type of "distant control" will be found to operate on local levels of government (see below).

The second point is the typical role played by the "great prison". As a *functional extension of the vizier's administration* it seems to run a overall "surveillance system" of the various departments of the central government. Based on the parallel of P. Brooklyn 35.1446 (see p. 135ff), we may in fact suggest now that these departments were under the supervision of the *hnrt wr*, with the vizier as "distant

control" in the last resort. The vizier leaves the actual supervision of the central departments to a subdivision of his own apparatus, viz. the "great prison". In checking the relevant provisional documents processed by this institution prior their filing, he ultimately checks their activities. This may offer an additional explanation for the somewhat vague contours of these departments in The Duties. A further argument in favour of this approach will be presented below under "Appointment of civil servants" (2.2.3).

The indirect "distant control" of the vizier over the central departments by means of the intermediary stage of the *hnrt wr* contrasts with his control over the civil servants comprising the local echelons of government. Here no intermediary body is found. In contrast to the *h3w*-level, here direct relationships can be distinguished.

Local urban authorities can be summoned directly to the (*'ryt* of the *pr-nsu* (section 5). They are directly answerable to him on matters concerning the order and the security of the country in section 17. The overseer of fields and his assistants may be called in to be heard personally by him (section 8). The same goes for the councillors of the district (section 9).

He issues direct messages and personal orders to these echelons, e.g. the local urban authorities (section 5). The councillors of the district are fetched, dispatched and instructed personally (section 9; section 16 on hydraulic tasks). Urban authorities receive specific orders to carry out agricultural tasks (section 16) or to report personally – as delegates of the vizier in this matter – on the security of the land (section 17) – the latter involving two additional viziral tasks, viz. the "military" supervision of the frontier fortress in the South and the juridical task of the trying of plunderers (the only instance of dispensation of viziral justice to civilians in The Duties!). The vizier also has an intermediary role in messages and instructions of the *pr-nsu* to urban authorities (section 12). He can instruct scribes of the mat to carry out the necessary measures for the implementation of a royal promulgation (section 18).

Local echelons are ordered to report personally to the vizier. All local magistracies are obliged to report every four months on their accomplishments (section 13). Councillors of the district report to him their affairs (section 9), and urban authorities report on the state of security (section 17).

What is remarkable is that these reports generally seem to postdate the reported activities (sections 9, 13 and 17). Only two fields of interest are exempt from this rule, viz. the agricultural and hydraulic tasks of the urban authorities and the councillors of the district (section 16). Here the vizier takes a direct interest in dispatching the officials with the appropriate instructions. It is evidently an interest of basic importance to the central administration.

In general it would seem that the local administration functioned with a certain degree of independence. As in the case of the central departments, the vizier keeps a sort of "distant control", not by using an intermediary body, but by procedures mitigating – as it were – an all too direct control over the system. With the means of

communications available around 1500 B.C in a country of the size of Egypt, any attempt to regulate a system of local administration centrally and in the greatest detail would have rendered the system hopelessly inefficient, to say the least. General supervision and ultimate control, at the same time allowing for a certain degree of independence at the local level, definitely provides better results – at least in theory and under stable conditions. In this respect, the means at the disposal of the vizier to curb local irregularities gain significance. Some have been listed above, viz. viziral justice, personal contacts, summons and direct instructions. Other structural instruments will be discussed hereafter.

One such tool is the prescription that any *imyt-pr* (viz. those pertaining to the transfer of a civil office and the related office-bound property) has to be signed and sealed by the vizier (section 9). Unanticipated changes in the personnel and the allocation of assets (state-property) are checked in this way. The vizier is also personally in charge of the allocation and withdrawal of state-owned landed property intended for the upkeep and services of officials (section 10, cf. chapter 3.2.3 below). One structural instrument of control has to be discussed separately.

2.2.3 APPOINTMENT OF CIVIL SERVANTS

In section 13 the vizier is said to be in charge of the appointment of the *nty m srwt* in his own area of competence. As we have argued, the term is a collective designation of the leading members of the main magistracies in the local administration. The term covers the urban authorities, the overseers of fields and the councillors of the district. The only other civil servants the vizier is said to appoint are stationed in the *pr-nsw*, viz. *'ryt*-personnel (section 19) and the overseer of police(men) (section 17; cf. chapter 3.2.1 above).

Thus, we are confronted with the interesting phenomenon of the vizier appointing the leading local officials and (at least part of) the *pr-nsw*-personnel, while the text is silent on the appointment of personnel to central departments. An explanation offers itself when we accept that this particular task belongs to the supervision of the departments by the *hnrt wr*. The vizier delegates the task to an extension of his own bureaucratic apparatus, for which reason The Duties makes no mention of it. An alternative that may come closer to historical reality, is that this task was in fact delegated to the heads of the *h3w* concerned, and was supervised by the "great prison".

2.3 The Vizier as the King's Deputy

A number of viziral tasks cannot be related to one of the two aspects above. Instead they refer to a third aspect, viz. the vizier as deputy of the king. The tasks coming under this heading fall into two categories and in each category two separate spheres may be distinguished.

The first category concerns two tasks in which the vizier acts as a personal assistant or secretary to the king. In section 3 it is implied that it is the vizier who provides his majesty daily with all up-to-date information on the situation of the Two Lands. In other

words, the vizier is a main channel of communication to the king (and *vice versa*). There may have been other magistrates supplying the king with information. The text, of course, remains silent on the matter. As for the vizier, it is obvious that he is the one who provides information on the three aspects and their various elements analysed here. However, if we were to take the statement of section 3 in its broadest possible sense, it would mean that ultimately *all* information supplied to the king passes through the vizier. The particular wording of the opening lines of section 3 would seem to favour such an interpretation. In this way, the vizier becomes the sole source of information (of whatever nature) to the king, i.e. a position of paramount importance and great responsibility that can only be occupied by an trustworthy, personal assistant.

The second task fits in with this picture. Whenever a petition is made to the king personally – as stated in section 11 –, it is the vizier himself who must attend to the petitioner and his written petition. Here again we find the vizier in the delicate position of personal assistant mediating between the king and petitioner – in matters that will often have required great tact and skill, and involved personal trust and confidence in his deputy on the part of the king (compare Hayes, PLMK, 135–6; 141).

The second category deals with a set of tasks in which the vizier receives executive powers of the king in matters that concern basically a royal monopoly. Here the vizier functions as executive assistant with delegated powers, as the king's proxy.

In section 8 the vizier is said to be charged with the enforcement of *hp*, "law". Every *hp* originates from the king. Thus, the task of enforcing *hp* boils down to receiving delegated powers to enforce the king's law in his capacity as his executive assistant in this matter. This agrees with the final statement of section 18 where the vizier is charged with the enforcement of every royal promulgation. Its particular subject entails the delegation of specific powers to the vizier for its implementation.

This is, in fact, illustrated in section 18 where the vizier is even found as establishing the boundaries of divine offerings (*qualitate qua* a royal act). The same tenor is conveyed by the final lines of section 19. Here the vizier is denoted the one who hears every royal decree. As the sole official having knowledge of all royal decrees, it is he who will have to take care of their enactment or at least of their promulgation (in section 19 decrees on juridical matters). Thus, the second category appears to cover viziral tasks pertaining to the king as theoretically the sole source of law and structural regulations in Egypt.

The category also involves viziral tasks with regard to the king as theoretically the sole proprietor of land and assets in Egypt. In the case of petitioners on matters relating to mining areas (and on royal property in general), things are far from clear (section 11). We assumed the involvement of a vizier's messenger as his agent. Our difficulty in understanding the tenor of the section is probably caused by the studied antithesis between this type of petitioner and petitioners to the king personally as presented in the same section. Section 10 states that it is the vizier who issues and withdraws

šdw-fields, state-owned plots of land assigned to officials for services rendered or to be rendered. In theory all land in Egypt belonged to the king. The apportioning of parcels of state-owned land to officials must, therefore, have been in theory a royal prerogative. For the upkeep of the bureaucracy the vizier receives the delegated right to issue and withdraw such plots. In doing so, he wields powers that are essentially royal in nature. The same holds for the statement of section 17. Here the vizier is found assigning the spoils of war to each town district. Now, in theory spoils of war are royal property. It is, therefore, only with special delegated powers that derive from the particular situation at hand that the vizier is able to redistribute spoils of war. In theory, it is only the king who can do so.

In surveying the evidence we find that all tasks listed under this third aspect have one element in common. They all testify to a close personal relationship between king and vizier, which is focused on the vizier's role as mediator between pharaoh and Egypt. Depending on the particular matters and situations concerned, this involves the delegation of appropriate royal powers to the vizier in his capacity of personal, executive assistant to the king.

2.4 An Assessment of the Main Aspects

So far we have discussed three main aspects of the vizier's activities. We cannot gain absolute certainty as to whether these aspects cover his function completely or not. The Final Columns of The Duties may have contained references to yet (an)other aspect(s) – although this would seem rather unlikely in view of the proportional distribution of features of the three aspects over the well preserved parts up to col. R28. Bearing this in mind, we may attempt to assess the main aspects that were found to form the backbone of his work in the first 28 columns.

The vizier as managing director of the *pr-nsu* runs and manages the seat of royal government – the architectural complex as well as the institution. It seems obvious that in theory the king himself is overall head of the *pr-nsu*. The vizier's tasks in this respect boil down to wielding powers delegated by pharaoh. The vizier as head of the civil administration controls the civil government of the country. Ultimately, it is the divine king who heads the government. In this situation, the vizier acts as his delegate and representative. A feature of royal delegation is found in clear detail in the third aspect, viz. the vizier as deputy of the king.

All this suggests that the basic notion underlying the vizier's activities, the essence of his function, is the fact that he is, from an institutional point of view, the primary deputy of the king.

Structurally the king has delegated to him (at least) two fields of royal interest, viz. the *pr-nsu* and the civil administration. In addition, the vizier – as royal representative – acts as a "functional extension" of the king's power in order to gather and channel information, enforce the king's law and enforce the king's theoretical title to the material assets of Egypt.

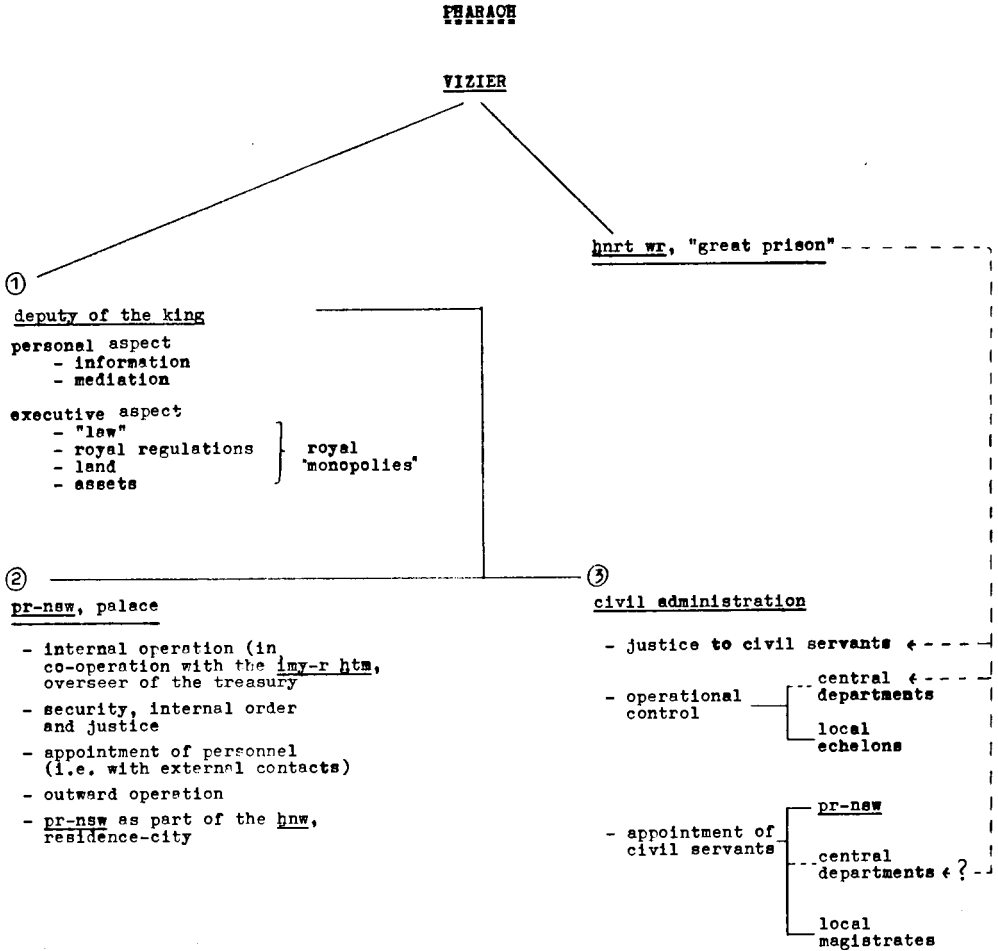


Fig. 11

The structure of the activities of a vizier according to The Duties

It is easily conceivable that other fields of royal interest not treated by The Duties may be subsumed under this last category.

In our view the aspect of assistance and mediation is basic to all three aspects. The vizier is the institutional deputy to the king in matters of royal government and *pr-nsw*, of civil administration and dogmatic royal monopolies, in addition to - so it seems - representing the king in particular situations involving royal interests. The results can be assembled in a diagram, see *fig. 11*.

3. THE VIZIER'S OFFICE

The official seat of the vizier is the *h3 n t3ty*, "the vizier's office". It appears to be a building with a columned hall or perhaps rather a hall with a ceremonial columned baldachin. Behind the main hall several other rooms are located. A scene in the tomb of Amenemopet (TT no. 29) suggests one of the rooms to be a scribal office (Davies, *Rekhmire*, 32 n. 76). The vizier's office is part of the vizier's residence, the *pr n t3ty*. The whole complex is situated in the *pr-nsw* (cf. *fig. 5*, p. 67).

The office has its own personnel. These officials only figure in section 1 which deals with viziral sessions in the office. It is obvious, therefore, that their tasks are restricted to internal affairs of the office. Its personnel consists of the *wrw-md-šm'w*, "the great ones of the ten of Upper Egypt", a sort of council of the vizier; an *imy-r 'hnwty*, "chamberlain", possibly in charge of internal affairs; an *iry-ht-k*, "curator of the access" and a group of scribes.

The official in charge of the office's security would seem to be the *imy-r šntw*, "overseer of police(men)", who is actually in charge of security of the whole *pr-nsw* complex (section 2; chapter 3.2.1; Davies, *Rekhmire*, 31 n. 69). The vizier's messengers are stationed in the office (section 5). As official representatives they arrest officials (section 1), control the traffic having access to the residence-city (section 2), receive instruction to convey orders for the opening of the gates of the *pr-nsw* (section 3) and carry viziral messages to functionaries of the administration (section 5).

Viziral audiences are held in the office (R1, R13, R36). The nature of these sessions remains rather vague, but it can be assumed that they comprise official activities of the vizier such as receiving information, issuing instructions, interrogating and dispatching officials. Detailed prescriptions regulate the official attire to be worn by the vizier at these sessions; the position in which he is to be seated; the proper place of office personnel and the proper behaviour of participant officials (section 1). In these prescriptions the text displays an unmistakable royal "allure".

Apart from being the centre of the viziral administration in general, The Duties contains a number of references to particular functions of the office. It is used as a place where (culpable) local officials are to be interrogated (section 5). When a tour of the royal government occurs, military officials are instructed by the vizier in his office on matters of the military escort as well as in respect of the forces staying behind (section 14). For the registration of new foundations as the result of a royal promulgation, local land-registries are to be brought to the office (section 18). The Duties also contains a peculiar

reference to the office as meeting-place between vizier and subordinate officials (section 15).

A remarkable feature is the fact that viziral archives do not seem to play a role in the text although they are known to have existed in the period comprising MK-SIP-NK (cf. section 18 n. 23). Records kept on central departments and conduct-records of officials are stored in the "great prison" (sections 6 and 7). Records of the local administration are kept in local archives (sections 13 and 18). They seem only to be checked and adjusted by the vizier in his office.

Although the text remains obscure on the nature of their relationship, it is evident that the *ḥnrt wr*, "great prison", is a *subdivision* or a *functional extension of the vizier's administrative apparatus* (sections 6 and 7). This would suggest that the institution is tied to the vizier's office in some way, perhaps as a subdepartment or as a separate but subordinate institution.

On the combined evidence of the late MK P. Brooklyn 35.1446 and of The Duties (see chapter 4), it is clear that the "great prison" is situated in Thebes. In view of their relationship, it may be suggested that it is located in the neighbourhood of the vizier's office, and thus in the proximity of the *pr-nsw*. It has its own personnel. viz. *sdmw*, "hearers" and scribes. It stores records of conduct of officials (section 6). Its "hearers" survey the activities of central departments in the residence (in its direct neighbourhood, therefore). They compile provisional records concerning these activities (section 7). When the subject-matter of the documents has been dealt with by the vizier in the appropriate way, the records are stored in the archive of the "great prison".

Thus, the vizier used the institution in two ways. It functions as his archive for records of conduct of officials, and for documentation on past activities of central departments. In addition, it has the delegated task of surveying the contemporary activities of departments on the central level. In this way, the vizier has at his disposal the documentation concerning officials (of central as well as local echelons!), and concerning departments of the central government. Contemporary activities of the former are checked by him personally; contemporary activities of the latter are checked by the "great prison" on behalf of the vizier. For the institution in a historical perspective, see chapter 4.

4. THE STRUCTURE OF THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

It seems appropriate now to attempt a visual representation of the structure of the civil administration according to The Duties. We want to stress that only information supplied or implied by the text has been used to construct the model. Contemporary texts - if available - might perhaps provide more details and enable refinement of the structure. The incorporation of such material is left to future studies of a more global nature. In assembling the evidence gathered in the commentary and the preceding parts of the present chapter, the diagram of *fig. 12* presents itself.

The civil administration appears to consist of a central and a local level. The central level is a conglomerate of offices (*ḥ3w*) under supervision of the "great prison" (*ḥnrt wr*). Ultimately they have to

answer to the vizier, since the "great prison" has to be considered a functional extension of his bureaucratic apparatus. Thus, on the central level we find an intermediary body between vizier and departments. The only exception to this rule concerns the dispensation of justice to officials of central departments, which is the direct and sole concern of the vizier.

We would perhaps have expected an intermediary body to operate primarily on a "provincial" level. As a kind of supralocal intermediary channel between central and local echelons it might have facilitated the activities of the central division through having been equipped with delegated authority enabling it to supervise the local division (the situation that seems to prevail in the late MK). Such appears not to be the case.

Local echelons are controlled directly by the vizier without intervening intermediary. The basic reason for this type of structure is perhaps that an intermediary body (or bodies) would enlarge the distance between central and local divisions. It would hinder a direct and strict control by the former over the latter. In itself an intermediary supralocal or provincial level could be considered a permanent threat to the control of the central authorities, since it could easily develop into a more or less independent institution, acquiring powers over local echelons that would be difficult to curb - especially in unstable circumstances. The absence of such a special provincial authority or echelon shortens the lines of communication, creates direct contacts and tightens the central control.

Such considerations are less valid for the central level. The fact that departments of the central level are located in his direct neighbourhood (residence-city) gives the vizier the opportunity to check their activities anyway. Therefore, there is no imminent threat to his control if their day-to-day supervision is delegated to the "great prison" (and thus continuing the situation prevailing in Thebes in the late MK). Prescribed procedures of action between departments, "great prison" and himself ensure that he will stay in overall charge.

On the local level of the civil administration a key term is *sp3t*, "town-district". No functionary is explicitly said to be in charge of a *sp3t*, although in section 17 we surmised that town-districts were headed primarily by the mayors¹. Their colleagues, with regard to rural matters of the town-districts, appeared to be the overseers of fields (sections 8 and 17). Both types of officials function, therefore, on the same level of administration. The councillors of the district, in charge of *ww*, "rural districts", were found to be rank-equal to the mayors (sections 9 and 16), suggesting that they also operate on the same level of administration. Thus, the constellation that emerges comprises *sp3wt*, subdivided into urbanized areas (*nīwwt*, *hwwt*) and

1. The term *sp3t* is found in titles, e.g. *whmw n sp3t*, "herald of the town-district" (MK-NK). On present evidence it is clear that these officials were subordinate to the mayors, cf. p. 102 (2.2, c); Helck, *Verwaltung*, 219; 235; 240 ff.; 244 ff.; LÄ II, 1153-4.

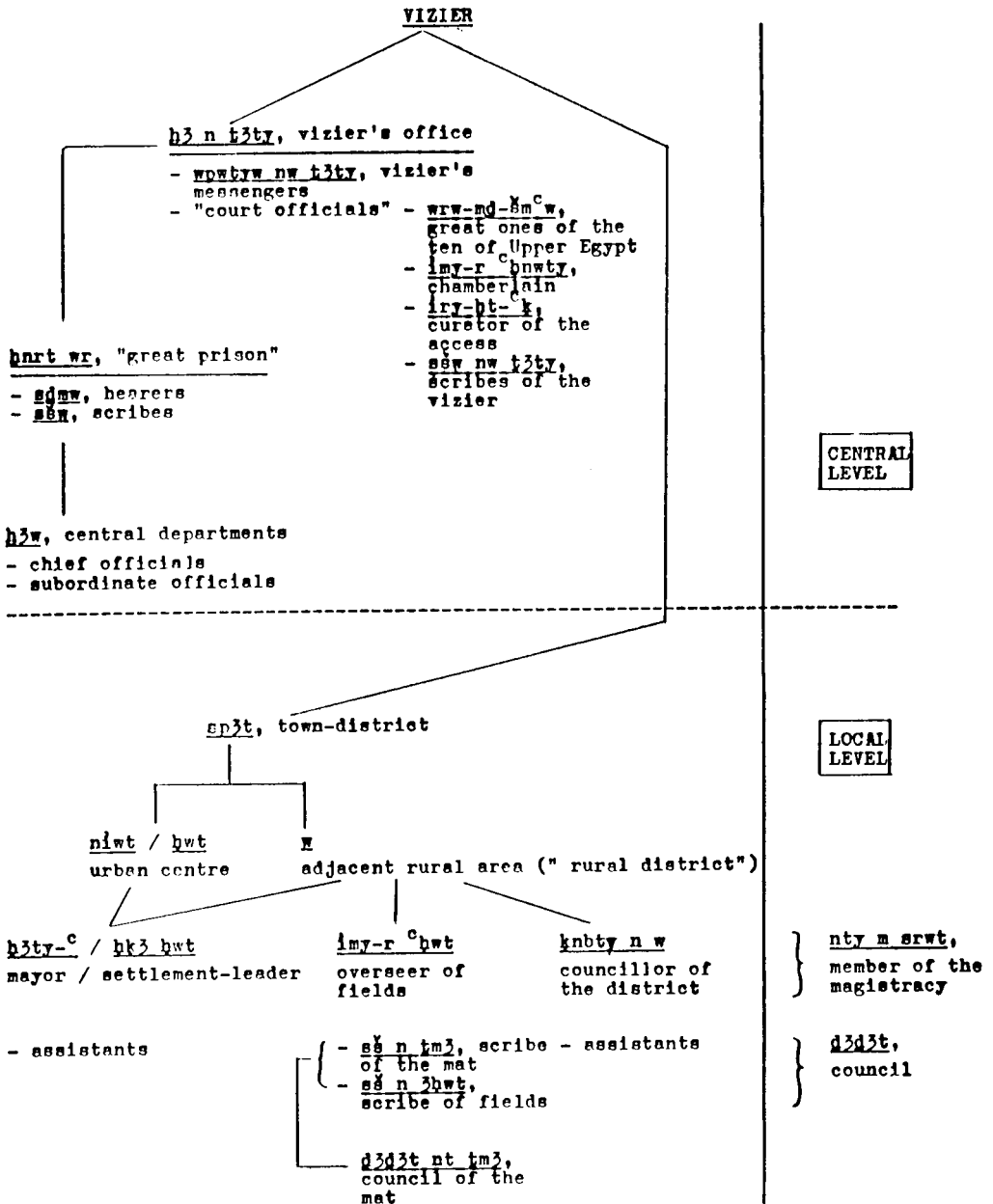


Fig. 12

The structure of the civil administration according to The Duties

rural areas (ww). The former are headed by mayors, settlement-leaders and overseers of fields; the latter by councillors of the district.

Now, the last two types of officials must have had regular contacts in view of their respective rural tasks. For instance, the hydraulic tasks of the councillors were certainly not confined to the "rural districts" alone (cf. section 16). They must have pertained also to the country-side areas of towns. In the same way, the tasks of an overseer of fields doubtlessly also pertained to the w of a particular town-district. In addition, we draw attention to the fact that the mayors also had substantial rural tasks (section 16). In fact, these shared interests and fields of operation indicate that the term w, in The Duties, designates the rural country-side area adjoining an urban centre.

The picture emerges of three officials working on the same level of administration with considerable points of contact between their respective tasks. Thus, it can be argued that there is no strict or formal division, as regards the type of administration, between urbanized and rural areas, nor between the officials in charge. The mayors may have concentrated first of all on the administration of towns and on answering the demands of the central government in their capacity as "*primi inter pares* - heads" of the town-districts; the overseers of fields would seem to have concentrated on the administration and supervision of fields in the town-districts to a large extent; the councillors of the district may have been charged primarily with hydraulic tasks and other rural duties of a "technical" nature. All three owed a direct responsibility to the vizier. After these remarks, it seems evident that these officials were the leading functionaries of a *sp3t*, each in charge of particular aspects of a town-district, but working in rather close cooperation with each other - in demonstration of the fact that sophisticated labour-specialization was a feature largely absent from the Egyptian system of administration. These magistracies are collectively called *ntyw m srwt* in The Duties; their assistants are called *d3d3wt*.

There is no evidence in the text to show that town districts, because of their regional function, constituted provincial authorities *stricto sensu*. Such a function would presuppose the existence of a hierarchical structure of administration, stratified into a regional, cq. "provincial" level and a local level at the base. According to The Duties, urban officials have their own subordinate personnel (cf. fig. 12). But evidently, it would go too far to claim that the latter formed a group of local authorities and to turn the urban authorities (viz. *h3tyw-* and *hk3w-hwwt*) into provincial administrators. There is no information in The Duties suggesting that the latter administered more than one major centre, or that they governed a subordinate level of local urban officials organised in a cluster of townships. A truly provincial level is absent.

Thus, it can be argued that the system of the civil administration, as reflected by The Duties (fig. 12), corresponds to an administrative structure that prevails in a period of national unity and a strong central authority. The suppression of provincial levels of government and the curbing of tendencies in that direction have always been important factors in the policy of the central government in times of

a unified Egypt under a powerful royal rule (e.g. 12th dyn.; dyn. 18-19). For further remarks, see chapter 4.

The system visualised in *fig. 12* is headed by the vizier. After the remarks in chapter 3.2.2 above and in the present paragraph, we may attempt to assess the nature of his leadership.

On the central level he exercises indirect, "distant" control through the "great prison". On the local level he has direct control, but of a "distant nature", because of its *post factum* character. Personal contacts and direct messages compensate this feature only to a certain extent. Therefore, his leadership appears to be characterised by control and regulation, and less by "taking the lead", personal initiative or policy making. The activities of the civil administration are not so much stipulated by the vizier, rather they are checked by him. Primarily, he controls – as it were – the balance of the system, not its direction nor its course of action. Only the fields of agriculture and irrigation on the local level seem to require the personal direction of the vizier. In an agrarian society like Egypt, they are of vital importance to the central government. On the other hand, the nature of the administration in an Early State like Egypt, and the means at the disposal of the central government to enforce its policy, preclude a tight, central and direct guidance of the civil administration in every detail. The best it can hope for is to control the system. Such would seem to be the basic nature of the vizier's leadership.

One final point of interest. In its opening column The Duties mentions two viziers, while it is actually only concerned with a southern vizier (see next Chapter). The structure as given in *fig. 12* only applies to Upper Egypt. Its validity for Lower Egypt is an inference and questionable in some points, e.g. was there a "great prison" operative in the northern capital (or not, as during the late MK)? Lack of evidence for the period under consideration forces us to leave this question unanswered.

5. PROCEDURES AND ETHICS

Under this heading we have grouped a number of general observations concerning the nature of the vizier's dealings with subordinate officials and civilians.

In personal contacts of the vizier with subordinate officials we notice that he has to take into account the rank or hierarchical status of the latter (casus-description of section 1). Officials are entitled to personal attention on the part of the vizier, whether in juridical cases (sections 4, 5, 6, 19) or for administrative reports (sections 8, 13). To optimize the information required, the vizier not only consults the chief officials; he will also consult their assistants (sections 8, 13). In addition he may ask for the pertinent written documentation (section 13). In this way his administrative contacts with officials gain a less subjective, more neutral nature in that he does not have to rely solely on the information provided by the official himself. By means of structural procedures he is able to check and double-check the information and reports he receives.

Personal attention of the vizier as well as his urge to consult the records is also demonstrated in the procedures pertaining to incompetent officials (section 6) and departments (section 7). It is a combination of personal attention and reliance on records that seems to characterize the ideal attitude of the vizier towards his officials. In the structural contacts of the latter with the vizier, regulated as they are by prescribed procedures, the officials know in advance that they may expect personal attention and a check of the pertinent records.

Subordinate officials, for their part, are expected to show proper behaviour and required reverence in contacts with their superior. This may be deduced from the *casus*-description in section 1 dealing with improper behaviour at viziral sessions. It is also shown in section 5 by the stipulations on the way to treat the vizier's envoy. The functionary is the official representative of the vizier, carrying his instructions and messages (sections 1, 2, 3, 5, 8). He is, therefore, entitled to the same treatment as the vizier (section 5). Because of his "ambassadorial" status he enjoys "diplomatic" immunity. In section 6 the text clearly indicates that a messenger is considered a functional extension of his instructor, not only in the case of the vizier but also in the case of other officials. Culpable acts of the messenger are the acts of his instructor. Improper behaviour towards a messenger equals improper behaviour towards the man who dispatched him. Subordinate officials have to treat the vizier's messenger accordingly (of course, the same goes for the messenger of the *pr-nsw*, section 12). A most awesome punishment is prescribed for the official who fails to do so (section 5).

The vizier's contacts with the public at large are exemplified in the passages on the *spṛty*, "the petitioner". A man who makes a petition to the central authorities in general is apparently referred to the vizier's office where a vizier's messenger is instructed to handle the case in the first instance (section 8). When it concerns a petition about alleged criminal acts by officials, the matter is probably handled by the vizier's messenger in the first instance (section 10). The vizier will judge the crimes in the final instance. A man who petitions to the vizier personally will be dealt with by the vizier himself (section 8). This type of personal contact is governed by what may be called the outlines of a "law of appeal" (on agricultural matters, section 8). A petitioner may appeal to the vizier and he has the right to ask for a re-assessment of enactments by the (local) authorities. As a court of appeal the vizier will apply the "law" and thus he can order a re-assessment of the disputed enactment (of an agrarian nature in section 8), establishing a maximum period for reconsideration by the parties involved. Apparently, we are dealing with a structural instrument, based on the king's law and open to the public, for nullifying or altering official enactments of the (local) authorities. Whether this law could also apply to non-agricultural matters remains unknown.

Petitioners on pharaoh's property are dealt with in a different manner. Unnamed officials - possibly the vizier's messengers - will handle the petition, which has to be in writing. The vizier enters the scene when a man petitions to the king personally (in accordance

with the third aspect of his work, cf. chapter 3.2.3). The vizier will act as intermediary before the king after the petitioner has put his request in writing.

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CHAPTER 4

THE TEXT IN PERSPECTIVE:

DATE AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. INTRODUCTION

The present chapter will attempt to establish an approximate date of composition of *The Duties*. To that effect we will rely primarily on internal evidence. This will result in a hypothesis as regards its date and historical background.

In adducing evidence from contemporary sources the hypothesis will be tested as an explanatory model. It will be applied in an attempt to reach plausible explanations for a number of characteristics and particularities of the text.

2. OLD AND NEW IDEAS

The large majority of egyptologists in the past ¹, as well as in the present ² have argued that, while the text is preserved in four copies dating to the NK, it was composed in the late MK (13th dyn.). Thus, they postulate a now lost original dating to that period. Their main argument is that administrative terminology and titles are characteristic of the late MK. Advocates of this view have been esp. Gardiner, Farina and Helck ³.

In a first attempt to counter this interpretation we signalled doubts regarding its validity in an *Orientalia* article of 1982 ⁴. Using a modest set of what were labelled "NK-indications", we set out to show that *The Duties* features a number of peculiarities that are hard to account for in a late MK context despite its superficially MK appearance. The set consisted of grammatical, lexicographical and orthographical observations in addition to two "anachronisms". The result was a new hypothesis stating that the text was composed in the early NK (temp. Hatshepsut or somewhat earlier). Subsequently we made an attempt to verify the hypothesis, mainly by using the pervasive archaizing tendencies of the early NK as an argument evaluated in the context of social and bureaucratic phenomena of the period.

It must be conceded that from a methodological point of view our argument was not altogether sound, since – at the moment of writing (1980) – we were not able to base our contention on a study of the whole text ⁵.

The preceding pages of the present monograph supply the basis that is required to verify or falsify the hypothesis. The argument will be expanded accordingly to cover the text as a whole.

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1. A notable exception is Hayes, *CAH II Pt. 1*, 355. While following the MK theory, he believes that "much of the content was still valid in the NK".
 2. E.g. Kemp, in: *AESH*, 84.
 3. For ref., see my *Date*, 369–70.
 4. Cf. previous note.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 369 (1st n.); 370 n. 9.

3. HISTORICAL FEATURES OF "NK SIGNATURE"

In chapter 2 we listed a number of orthographical (ch. 2.2.4), lexicographical (ch. 2.3.3), grammatical and syntactical (ch. 2.4.2) peculiarities that are suggestive of a NK background. From a historical point of view we may now compile a list of observations that point in the same direction. The list will follow the order of the text as far as possible with occasional digressions where needed. To avoid useless repetitions the list is kept as concise as possible. The reader is referred for the basic argument to the appropriate sections in chapter 1.

1. In its first column the text mentions two viziers: *t3ty n niwt rst n hnw*, "the vizier of the southern city (= Thebes) (and) of the residence" (section 1, p. 18ff). The division of the office could apply to a MK as well as a NK situation. Ultimately, only the latter option is plausible. The first part of the 18th dyn. is the only period of the two to show a precedence of Thebes over the northern capital (= *hnw*). The situation results from the wars of liberation conducted by Kamose and Ahmose against the Hyksos territory in Lower Egypt. Their home-base was Thebes which tended to take a natural precedence in the first decades of a reunified Egypt. In the wake of their *reconquista* the vizirate was divided in view of the incorporation of the conquered territories in the North. In proportion to the predominance of Thebes as the old capital, the vizier of the old heartland of Upper Egypt (*tp-rsy*) had a natural precedence over his northern colleague in this period.

While the text speaks of two viziers in R1, one gains the impression that it is concerned only with one vizier who covers the whole country (section 3, p. 57ff; section 8, p. 162ff.; section 13, p. 215), or – we might add – what was considered to be the heart of Egypt at that particular time. In fact it transpires from R26 (section 17, p. 255ff.), that the text takes a real interest only in the southern vizier ⁶. A plausible explanation may be that the latter is actually vizier of what is considered to be Egypt proper, viz. Upper Egypt, Lower Egypt being occupied by the Hyksos enemy or being recently liberated. Thus, he is the only vizier in office, or at least the most important one.

We face a configuration of indications for a divided vizirate being paired with indications to the contrary. This points to a historical situation where the office has been split in the fairly recent past, when there was still a natural predominance of the old all-important vizirate in the south (the sole vizirate at the end of the SIP). In our view, this may point to the very beginning of the 18th dyn. (see also below obs. 19–21).

6. For further remarks, see below ch. 4.3 obs. 19–21; 4.6.3.

2. Whereas one could have doubts on the NK nature of the "court-context" of the *wrw-md-šm'w* as officials attached to the vizier's court in section 1 (p. 33ff.), such doubts do not exist with regard to another member of the vizier's personnel, viz. the *imy-r 'hnwty*, "the chamberlain" ⁷. In sharp contrast to his MK role as a high government official with wide-ranging tasks, his NK context is determined exclusively by the surroundings of the palace. It is in this atmosphere that the official functions in our text.
3. The Duties attests the presence of *mnw*, "guard-posts" alining the girdle-wall of the *pr-nsw*. Whereas MK indications for this feature seem to be lacking completely, the NK provides a parallel in the form of the representation of a royal palace provided with guard-posts in an Amarna tomb (section 2, p. 46ff.).
4. The particular designation of the area of the residence-city in section 2, viz. *s3tw n hnw* (p. 50) has a close parallel in the Kamose Stelae and the Decree of Ahmes-Nefertari, viz. *s3tw niwt*. The early 18th dyn. shows a definite preference for this rather rare designation of the residence-area, e.g. Urk IV, 27, 16 (cf. FCD, 211; Wb III, 424, 4).
5. Section 3 opens with the description of a daily salutation ceremony before the king by the vizier (p. 56ff.). It takes place when the vizier has been briefed on the situation of the Two Lands and after an exchange of information between the vizier and his colleague, the overseer of the treasury. The salutation ceremony has NK parallels. The same goes for the preceding briefing of the vizier. The exchange of information and the sense of teamwork between the vizier and his colleague (p. 61ff; 70ff.) could be accommodated in a MK as well as an 18th dyn. context.
6. The framework of references of the "title" *iry-sšm*, "responsible official" (section 3, p. 68ff.), is restricted to the 18th dyn. (and the TIP).
7. In sections 4 and 5 (p. 85ff.; 118ff.) the text refers to heavy corporal punishments, viz. *hwt*, "bastonnade" and *sw3 't*, "the cutting off of a limb". This type of punishment is typical of the NK system of punishments. It is absent in the preceding system that covers OK-FIP-MK-SIP ⁸. The vizier is said to apply these punishments. The right to inflict them is an essentially royal prerogative only attested in the NK.
8. In section 5 the *h3tyw-'* and the *hk3w-hwwt* are presented, viz. the mayors and the settlement-leaders (p. 98ff.). While both

7. Cf. our notes in Date, 374-5.

8. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 372-3.

titles have definite roots in the MK administration, their consistent joint appearance in The Duties is attested only in the first part of the 18th dyn. (and the TIP). Their joint presentation imparts to *ḥḳ3-ḥwt* a clear urban connotation. While the title is already provided with such a notion in the MK, this has never led to a being mentioned together with the mayors in that period. However, the combination finds consistent use in all attestations of the title postdating the SIP.

9. The *ḥnrt wr*, "great prison" figures prominently in section 6 and 7 (p. 125ff.; 135ff.). The latest source in which this typically MK institution is found in operation dates to the late 17th dyn. (Stèle Juridique). In The Duties "the great prison" acts as an intermediary body, an extension of the vizier's administration, between vizier and central departments. The latter are supervised by the "great prison" on behalf of the vizier. Local echelons of administration are exempt from this supervision according to our text. Only direct contacts are attested between the vizier and local authorities (cf. chapter 3.2.2 and 3.4). Now, this situation deviates considerably from the late MK structure as reflected by the P. Brooklyn 35.1446. That document presents the "great prison" as having administrative relationships with both central and local echelons (cf. p. 135ff.). Therefore, the structure of the civil administration as reflected by The Duties in this respect (cf. fig. 11, p. 323) seems to represent a new development. In conjunction with the date of the last known source on the *ḥnrt wr*, viz. the late 17th dyn., this is likely to be an innovation of the early 18th dyn.⁹
10. Irrespective of developments in meaning of the noun *'ḥt*, "parcel, plot" that may have occurred later on in history, the early 18th dyn. attests the interchangeability of *3ḥt* and *'ḥt* in the title *imy-r 3ḥt* / *imy-r 'ḥt*, "overseer of fields". The latter form, restricted to this period, is used by our text (section 8, p. 153ff.).
11. The "public" notion conveyed by *imy-pr* in section 9 (p. 180ff.) as pertaining to the transfer of public offices and office-bound property, comes quite close to a type of *imy-pr* attested for the 17th and early 18th dyn. as exemplified in the Stèle Juridique and the Decree of Ahmes-Nefertari.
12. In MK administrative documents the designation *nty m srwt* appears to denote a functionary of unidentified rank in pyramid cities (section 13, p. 209ff.). In The Duties it proves to be a collective designation of the leading members of the main local magistracies. The term now covers high-ranking officials with both urban and non-urban backgrounds. A NK parallel indicates that the designation has indeed received different connotations

9. Further remarks on the matter will be found below, p. 355ff.

after the MK. In The Duties every *nty m srwt* is appointed by the vizier.

13. In section 13 we find the indication *tp-rsy t3w-wr*, "the Thinite Nome (in) the Head of the South" (p. 212ff.). It singles out the 8th U.E. Abydene nome in the area of competence of the southern vizier (*tp-rsy*). In itself the terms root in the MK. However, in the light of our hypothesis, the separate reference to the Abydene region gains significance.

The Kamose texts indicate that at the end of the SIP the borderline between Hyksos and Theban territory was situated at Cusae (El-Qusija) ¹⁰. However, to the north of Thebes the main centres of Theban interest appear to have been Abydos and Coptos. Both places show traces of substantial building activity by the 17th dyn. monarchs ¹¹ and in both places a military garrison was stationed ¹². While the Theban homeland (*tp-rsy*) ended at Cusae (or perhaps more precisely at Assiut, cf. section 13, p. 212ff.), the stretch between Cusae and Abydos seems to have been less relevant from the Theban point of view ¹³. At the end of the 17th dyn. the northernmost town and area of Theban interest were, respectively, Abydos and the 8th U.E. nome - a situation that did not change dramatically in Ahmose's reign, cf. chapter 4.5. The special reference to *t3w-wr* in section 13 may actually reflect the prominent position of the area in this period.

14. In section 14 reference is made to military garrisons staying behind in the governmental centre(s) on the occasion of a royal journey (p. 221ff). The existence of such garrisons is first attested in the late 17th dyn. (Abydos, Coptos; note 12 and 33 below). The same section presents the army as an integrated unit handled and organized on a national basis according to the requirements of a given situation. Parallels for both phenomena are found from Kamose's reign onwards. Generally speaking, a

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10. Cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 197; Habachi, *Kamose*, 51-2; Smith & Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 69. See also below obs. 19.
 11. Cf. James, CAH II Pt. 1, 304; von Beckerath, UGZZ, 197; Clère, JEA 68 (1982), 60-8; AESH, 159.
 12. Cf. Franke, JEA 71 (1985), 176. In this respect we may also refer to Kamose's temporary (military?) outpost at Deir el-Ballas opposite Coptos (cf. Vandersleyen, RdE 19 (1967), 152; Lacovara, in: *St. Dunham*, 120-4; id., ARCE Newsletter 123 (1983), 5-23; id., *Deir el-Ballas* 1985, Boston 1985). See also the 17th dyn. finds at Gebel Zeit indicating the northernmost point reached by the 17th dyn. on the Red Sea shore (cf. Castel & Soukiassian, BIFAO 85 (1985), 285-93).
 13. Von Beckerath, UGZZ, 197 suggests that the actual frontier may have shifted several times along this stretch in the course of the SIP. The area between Abydos and Elephantine seems to have been permanent Theban territory during the whole SIP, cf. *ibid.*, p. 197-202; CAH II Pt. 1, 65.

peculiar feature of the section is the "military atmosphere" surrounding the royal journey.

15. The framework of references of *3tw n tt-hk3*, "captain of the ruler's crew", as an operational title (section 14, p. 224ff.), ends in the late 17th dyn. with the Stèle Juridique and officials at Elkab ¹⁴.
16. The "neologism" *d3d3t nt mš'*, "army council" of section 14 (p. 226 with n. 52; 228 with n. 57) comes close to the unique designation of Kamose's (army) staff as *d3d3t srw*.
17. It is said in section 16 that the councillors of the district are dispatched to construct "the inlet- / outlet-channels in the entire country" (p. 238ff.). This implies that a fundamental feature of the system of basin irrigation is to be employed in the *whole* of Egypt. Such a situation would seem applicable primarily to NK times.
- (18.) The same section contains the puzzling reference to *r sk3 r šmw* (section 16, p. 243ff.). If the phrase is rendered "to cultivate in the summer season", it entails summer cultivation and perennial irrigation. The NK is the only period to accommodate such new agricultural techniques. It must be conceded that the phrase's rendering and thus the present argument must remain hypothetical to a large extent.
19. In section 17 mention is made of the *mnnw šm'w*, "the fortress of Upper Egypt" (p. 255ff.). By implication it is said that the vizier has to receive reports on its affairs from the local urban authorities. The term *mnnw šm'w* can be identified as the fortress of Elephantine. There is no reference to a fortress or some other point of defence in the north. Both features are difficult to explain against a MK (or late MK) background. At that time Semna was the frontier in the south and not Elephantine ¹⁵. Furthermore, a MK text would have contained at least some reference to a northern border defence, since the northeast became increasingly exposed to pressures from Syria-Palestine ¹⁶. In addition we note that the impression of two viziers dealing with aspects of the whole country – upheld so far in The Duties – for once gives way in section 17 to a particular interest in the situation of the south at the expense of references to northern circumstances. In the light of our hypothesis a plausible explanation may be found in the history of

14. Cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 199.

15. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 75; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 50–1.

16. MK literature provides strong indications for the existence of fortified defences in the northeast, e.g. the *W3(w)-Hr*, "the Horus-road(s)" of Sinuhe B 242, 245 (perhaps to be identified with Sile, cf. note 30 below); cf. LÄ II, 896; V, 946.

the late 17th, early 18th dyn.

The Kamose Stelae indicate that in the late 17th dyn. Elephantine was the borderline between the Theban territory and the independent principdom of Kush in Lower Nubia ¹⁷. Although doubted by von Beckerath ¹⁸, Vandersleyen and Smith & Smith ¹⁹ - following remarks by Säve-Söderbergh - have argued in favour of a Nubian campaign by Kamose in his first or second year. The idea behind it seems to have been to strengthen the position of Elephantine ²⁰, and to regain at least part of the stretch between Elephantine and Semna (the MK frontier), which was still considered to be part of *Kmt* or Egypt proper ²¹. Kamose eventually reached and occupied Buhen to the north of the 2nd cataract ²². He set up an embryonic separate administration that anticipated that of the future Viceroy of Kush ²³.

In year 3 Kamose launches his northern campaign, starting off with an attack on Neferusi in the neighbourhood of Hermopolis, the Hyksos centre in Middle Egypt and some 40 kms north of Cusae, the former border ²⁴. His campaign seems to have concentrated on actions in Middle Egypt. The northermost point which Kamose reached was Sako, 80 kms north of Hermopolis ²⁵ with raids as far as Avaris, the Hyksos capital in the eastern Delta ²⁶. He definitely did not occupy the city. The situation at the end of his reign was that Theban territory had expanded south to Buhen, north to some point south of Avaris.

His nephew Ahmose seems to have reigned 25 years and a few months ²⁷. Peculiarly enough, he does not seem to have undertaken any military action in his first 10 years (see below).

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17. Cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 197; 206, Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 51; Habachi, *Kamose*, 51-2.
 18. UGZZ, 202-3; 208; cf. CAH II Pt.1, 297-8.
 19. Resp. *Amosis*, 61-3; ZÄS 103 (1976), 66-7; cf. LÄ III, 306ff.
 20. Cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 61-2.
 21. Cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 199; 206; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 51-6.
 22. Cf. Smith & Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 66-7; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 61-3.
 23. Cf. Smith & Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 67; AESH, 174. Von Beckerath, UGZZ, 214 and James, CAH II Pt. 1, 299 still regard Ahmose as the initiator of the Nubian administration.
 24. Cf. Smith & Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 69-70. For Neferusi, cf. Kessler, *Topographie*, 138ff.
 25. Cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 208; Smith & Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 74.
 26. Cf. AESH, 173; Smith & Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 72-4; Černý, MDAIK 24 (1969), 87-92 (Edfu stela of Emheb = HBT, 97ff.). On the stela, see now Störk, GM 43 (1981), 63-5; Baines, JEA 72 (1986), 41-53.
 27. Cf. Redford, HC, 28ff.; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 197. On the family-ties between Kamose and Ahmose, cf. Vandersleyen, CdE LII no. 104 (1977), 243 ff. (contra e.g. Redford, HC, 28ff.).

It has been suggested that he was in fact too young to do so ²⁸. Smith & Smith seem to imply that the two uprisings of Aata and Teti-an - to be discussed below - may have had some bearing on this feature ²⁹. Anyway, in year 10 or 11 Ahmose launches his attack on Avaris. Concurrent with his capture of the city or immediately following it, he occupies Heliopolis and the frontier town of Sile (Tjaru) in the northeast Delta ³⁰. The main piece of evidence in the chronological argument is a rather cryptic text on the back of the famous mathematical P. Rhind, recording the entering of both cities in year 11 (of Ahmose) ³¹. Subsequently he proceeds to take Sharuhén, after a 3 year siege, in appr. year 15 ³². Both Sile, and Sharuhén in the eastern Gaza area, seem to have been provided at some juncture with military garrisons ³³. After year 15 he sets out on an Asiatic campaign that does not concern us here ³⁴. Upon his return (after year 15 and before year 20), he marches south to Nubia ³⁵. It is evident that Ahmose extended his territory south of Buhen to include Semna south of the 2nd cataract, the old MK frontier fortress ³⁶. Although there are indications for his presence south of Semna ³⁷, Ahmose's main interest seems to have been the recovery and reorganization of an intrinsic part of Egypt (as early as the MK), viz. the area between Elephantine and Semna ³⁸. It is he who

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28. Ahmose seems to have died at the age of appr. 35. His 25 years of reign starts therefore at the age of appr. 10; cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 197ff.; LÄ I, 100.
 29. ZÄS 103 (1976), 74. Unlikely, since the uprisings are mentioned after Ahmose's Nubian campaign (postdating year 15) in the text of Ahmose son of Ebana, cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 75ff.
 30. The first ref. to the site, cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 211. For Sile, cf. LÄ V, 946-7; Gardiner, JEA 6 (1920), 101; 103-6; 116; Hayes, JNES 10 (1951), 89; 91; 93; 101; 160; Vergote, *Joseph*, 25-8; Kruchten, DH, 47 (R). For its location, cf. UGZZ, fig. to p. 158.
 31. Cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 210-1; Smith & Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 74 (with ref.); Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 33-40; Redford, JAOS 99 (1979), 283 n. 64. Compare Goedicke, in: L.H. Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, Hannover and London 1986, 37-47.
 32. Cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 40-1; 199-200.
 33. Cf. the remark of Redford, JAOS 99 (1979), 274 with n. 67 on Sharuhén.
 34. See Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 89ff.
 35. Cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 213; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 63; 199-200.
 36. Cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 214; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 54; 74.
 37. Ref. previous notes; Vercoutter, CRIPEL 1 (1973), 9ff. and Bradbury, Serapis 8 (1984-85), 13-4 mentioning Sai and even Gebel Barkal. Ahmose is known to have conducted a campaign towards Khent-hen-nefer, the area south of Semna, cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 64-8.
 38. Cf. CAH II Pt. 1, 296ff.; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 70-3; von Beckerath, UGZZ, 214.

finishes the organization of this Lower Nubian region as a separate division of government (probably between his years 20-25) ³⁹.

The reference to *mnw šm'w*, "the fortress of Upper Egypt" as denoting Elephantine in section 17 of The Duties, may be suggested to allude to circumstances prevailing between Ahmose's regnal years 11 and 20/25 ⁴⁰. In this period Elephantine is still the main point of defence of Upper Egypt, with Buhen as the frontier outpost running the part of Lower Nubia to its south as an incipient separate division of government. At the end of his Nubian campaign Semna becomes his main frontier defence ⁴¹.

Circumstances in the north are far from being settled and organized. The Hyksos have been driven out recently and the reoccupied territory awaits reorganization and the instalment of proper government. This must have taken considerable time involving - as we suggest - a division of the vizirate to cover the areas north of Cusae/Assiut. In The Duties no mention is made of northern defences/frontiers because, although the military situation had perhaps been stabilized, the administrative reorganization which was its follow-up was not yet completed or had not even been begun. In that particular period the Theban model of Upper Egypt remained paradigmatic for the administration. It must have required time and effort to duplicate it in the north. The Theban model covered the area from Cusae - more precisely Abydos - to Elephantine. Historical circumstances force the author in section 17 to refer to that administrative model alone on this single occasion. In the rest of the text he can readily pretend to be referring to the whole of Egypt, although such would be a recent development.

20. The same section 17 contains two more facts which can be tied in with this particular period (and which would be difficult to explain in a MK context). In R26 it is said: "it is to him that the affairs of the fortress of Upper Egypt have to be reported (and) every arrest of one who is involved in plunder[]" (p. 257ff.). In our view, the theme of "the arrest of plunderers" is clearly tied to the environment of the Elephantine fortress (as one of "its affairs"). As the official in charge of law and order in Egypt, the vizier is to be informed on this matter by the local urban authorities, his agents in this matter.

39. Cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 214; AESH, 208 fig. 3.4. Cf. notes 22 and 38. For the history of the institution, cf. Adams, *Nubia*, 217ff.

40. For the remains of a *mnw* at Elephantine dating to the late 17th/early 18th dyn., cf. Valbelle, in: *St. Mokhtar II*, 316.

41. Thus the theoretical possibility exists that *mnw šm'w* denotes Semna instead of Elephantine. Although quite improbable in our view, it would not affect our argument. Was Semna ever called "the fortress of Upper Egypt"?

Now, the theme of "arrest of plunderers" can be related to historical events late in Ahmose's reign. In appr. year 20 ⁴², Ahmose has to face two uprisings in the aftermath of his Nubian campaign. As recorded by the autobiography of Ahmose son of Ebana, their leaders are Aata en Teti-an. The scene of the uprisings is the south of Upper Egypt, either to the north of Elephantine or to its south as far as Semna ⁴³. As the uprisings seem to result from relatively new and still unstable circumstances, they have to be located in Lower Nubia proper, south of Elephantine ⁴⁴.

In our view, these uprisings are echoed in section 17 of The Duties as "(the arrest of) plunderers". The suggested scene of the revolts corresponds to the environment outlined by the text. If the revolts had taken place in the direct neighbourhood of Elephantine (as suggested by the combined evidence of The Duties and Ahmose's autobiography), then such events would certainly have come under the heading "affairs of the fortress of Upper Egypt" ⁴⁵. Charged with maintenance of internal law and order, the vizier is the one who is to be informed of such events by his local representatives ⁴⁶.

21. In section 17 it is said that it is the vizier who assigns the spoils of war to each town district (p. 259ff.). This remarkable viziral task is in fact strongly reminiscent of events that occurred in the aftermath of Ahmose's southern campaign late in his reign ⁴⁷. As evidenced by the autobiography of Ahmose son of Ebana, the king rewarded his soldiers with spoils of war (= people and

42. Cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 81; 199-200.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 82-4.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 84; von Beckerath, UGZZ, 213.

45. A more remote scene would perhaps have been the charge of the newly installed governor of Buhen, cf. CAH II Pt. 1, 298-9; von Beckerath, UGZZ, 214. We are reminded that in MK times the stretch Elephantine-Semna belonged to the 1st U.E. nome and was administered by Elephantine authorities (cf. UGZZ, 214), a situation that may have continued for some time after Ahmose's Nubian campaign awaiting his later reorganizations (for the latter, see below).

46. If "the arrest of plunderers" of Duties R26 alludes to the revolts of Aata and Teti-an, it goes to show the deep impression they made on contemporary society. Only in this way can we explain the echo of these events in our rather "timeless" text. The main threat was felt to (have) come from the south. This would perhaps go to explain the absence of references to northern defences to a certain extent (in addition to obs. 19 above). The Theban dynasty had secured its northern interests in distant military campaigns against the Hyksos. On their very threshold in the south, however, they had had to face two internal revolts endangering both the recent conquests in the south and the stability of Egypt itself.

47. Cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 83-7. See note 80 below.

plots of land) in their town-districts (e.g. Elkab). It would be difficult to find sound MK parallels for this particular viziral task (viz. the execution of the king's decision in this matter) – the more so in a configuration of events as outlined in the preceding pages.

4. THE HYPOTHESIS OF AN EARLY NK DATE OF COMPOSITION

Two sets of indications suggesting a NK background have now become available:

- chapter 2 contains a list of orthographical, lexicographical and grammatical particularities to that effect
- in the preceding paragraph of the present chapter we have recorded a number of historical observations pointing in the same direction.

The first set only suggests a general NK background with some slight evidence favouring the early 18th dyn. The second set, on the other hand, provides solid indications pointing to the very beginning of the 18th dyn.

This induces us to formulate a new hypothesis on the date of composition of *The Duties*: the combined evidence of the two sets of observations suggests that the text was composed in the second half of the reign of Ahmose, founder of the 18th dyn.⁴⁸

A hypothesis can only be a starting point. Sound methodology demands that a hypothesis is verified or disproved. Applied to the numerous peculiarities of the text, it has to demonstrate its validity as an explanatory model. Against the proposed historical background, content and purport of the text have to be corroborated by contemporary material – if available – and by general characteristics of the period.

Basically, the remaining part of the chapter will be devoted to the elaboration of this line of argument. With the information of the text at our disposal, it becomes imperative now to give an outline of Ahmose's reign and administration and to assemble all historical evidence that may have a bearing on the subject.

5. A SURVEY OF THE REIGN OF AHMOSE

The outcome of Ahmose's military campaigns⁴⁹ was that he became the first monarch after the SIP to rule a unified Egypt. Thus, he

48. This is a modification of our view as expressed in Date, *passim*. We have lowered the date of composition from Hatshepsut (o.c.) to Ahmose.

49. See above ch. 4.3 obs. 19 for the details.

became the true founder of the NK ⁵⁰. His work did not stop with the end of the campaigns. Once the reunification was effected, he faced immediately the formidable task of reconstructing his country after years of division and neglect ⁵¹. Having doubled the original Theban territory of the 17th dyn., now covering the whole of Egypt, meant that he was the first to instal proper government and effective administration throughout the country. The conquered Hyksos territories had to find their place in a unified Egypt under an Egyptian king. The Theban territory had to accommodate itself to a situation in which it had an equivalent double to the north. The whole machinery of government had to be doubled and adjusted to cope with the new circumstances. The result of his military actions forced Ahmose to embark on a program of non-military reorientation and reorganization. The future status of Egypt depended upon the success of his non-military accomplishments in the wake of his successes in war. Subsequent history has become the judge of Ahmose's domestic activities. It cannot be denied that the roots of the later success of dyn. 18–19 must be traced back to the foundations laid in the formative period of the NK under Ahmose ⁵².

Ahmose faced a task that was entirely new to him and his Theban dynasty, viz. the reconstruction of a unified state. In the typical Egyptian way, he looked inevitably to the preceding age to find a model for contemporary thought and action. As O'Connor has it: "the effect of significant changes in historical circumstances was to reinforce the traditional world-view" ⁵³.

However, we have to guard against an all too "human" perception of the mechanics of history. The early 18th dyn. has been characterized as "the final stages of MK society" ⁵⁴, with the fields of art and architecture supporting such a view ⁵⁵. The question is, are we really dealing with a *creation* by Ahmose, esp. with regard to the fields of government and administration that concern us here? The point is to decide to what degree the MK system simply continued to exist in the early NK. In order to establish the general nature and the details of Ahmose's reorganization, we will now have to outline the structure that prevailed immediately prior to the start of his activities. Only then can we attempt to assess the true value of his contributions.

50. He was remembered as such by later generations, cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 12.

51. Cf. CAH II Pt. 1, 299ff. The prevailing uncertainty as to who initiated the early NK reforms is reflected in Helck's opinion. In *Fonti Indirette*, 69 n. 16 and *Geschichte*, 146–9 he points out Ahmose as such, whereas in *Gegensätze*, 45 he prefers Amenhotep I (without substantiating the latter view).

52. Cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 11ff.; CAH II Pt. 1, 302; James, PP, 52.

53. AESH, 189; cf. *ibid.*, p. 188ff.

54. Redford, *Akhenaten*, 11.

55. Cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 204 n. 3; *id.*, CdE LII no. 104 (1977), 229; CAH II Pt. 1, 304; Redford, HC, 78ff.; *id.*, JAOS 104 (1984), 358–9; Van den Boorn, Date, 376ff.; Vernus, in: *Livre Cent. IFAO*, 185–6.

A second point that needs to be emphasized is of a more general nature and constitutes a characteristic and ever-present problem in the modern historiography of ancient Egypt. In the best of cases, our sources disclose structures, processes and events, but we simply lack the material to determine the personal input of individuals. It is beyond our reach to establish the degree to which events, processes etc. are initiated or moulded by individual action. In the present case, it seems impossible to assess the degree to which the personality of Ahmose contributed to the achievements of the early 18th dyn. We can only proceed from the structural situation and speak of the government as undertaking certain actions. "The government" is to be understood as the centre of state power, according to dogma headed by the king, in practise being an amalgam of the king and his court. When for convenience's sake, reference is made to Ahmose in the pages that will follow, the reader must bear in mind that we understand this in a structural-dogmatic and less in a personal sense.

The "reforms" of Sesostri III (ca. 1850 B.C.) had broken down the powerful position of the nomarchs that had prevailed up to the first half of the 12th dyn. Now, there emerged a strong centralized bureaucratic system of interrelated government bureaus (viz. Treasury, Labour Bureau, Bureau of Fields, "Departments of War and Interior"). The whole was directed and coordinated by the vizier to whom all were responsible and with whom all were in continuous liaison ⁵⁶. The provincial administration was directed by three divisions of the central government known as *w'rwt* ⁵⁷. The position of the vizier became paramount. The office eventually became hereditary, as exemplified in the famous 'Ankhu family of the 13th dyn. ⁵⁸.

At that time kingship had been reduced – so it seems – to mere puppet rule. It was the viziers who guaranteed permanence and stability. As uncrowned kings they took care of the continuity of the structure and services of the state ⁵⁹.

Although the paucity of sources on the subject is disturbing, it seems that late 12th and 13th dyn. conditions continued to exist under the Theban line of kings in the 17th dyn. of the SIP ⁶⁰. Although reduced in range by the circumstances of the day, the administration seems to have followed the principles laid down in the second half of the MK. This is evidenced e.g. by the operations recorded in the Stèle Juridique ⁶¹. Once more local offices – like the mayorship – seem to

56. Cf. Hayes, PLMK 134ff.; CAH I Pt. 2A, 505ff. See also above section 7, p. 135ff. Helck, *Geschichte*, 129 traces the reforms back to the early 12th dyn.

57. Cf. Hayes, PLMK, 138ff.

58. Ibid., p. 146ff; James, PP, 54. Cf. Habachi, SAK 11 (1984), 113–26.

59. Cf. Hayes, PLMK, 134; 146ff.; James, PP, 54.

60. Cf. CAH II Pt. 1, 66; von Beckerath, UGZZ, 198.

61. Cf. CAH II Pt. 1, 69.

have become hereditary, though without apparent threat to the control of the Theban kings⁶². On the other hand, Hayes discerns a growing tendency to emphasize royal power in the second half of the 17th dyn.⁶³ Although far too many details escape us at present, in general it seems clear that the structure that came down to Ahmose's day did not display fundamental differences with the late MK system.

When Kamose died after a reign of three years, Ahmose was still a minor. His grandmother Teti-sheri seems to have played a significant role during his minority, viz. the first ten years of his reign⁶⁴. In year 10 or 11 Ahmose launched his Avaris campaign which initiated a period of military activities that was to last for appr. ten years⁶⁵. The fact that he was engaged in more or less permanent warfare, being abroad for a major part of the period, countered the need for his presence in Egypt itself. Once the country was unified (from appr. year 15-16 onward), he must have felt the urge to strengthen his kingship over all of Egypt, as a binding factor of prime importance. At the same time a programme had to be initiated to reconstruct government, esp. in the reconquered North. The Theban model had to be applied to former Hyksos territories that had experienced a century or so of foreign rule. General instability in the wake of his campaigns had to be replaced by a feeling of stability and permanence, if his military accomplishments were to endure.

An ingenious solution seems to have been reached to the dilemma, typical of the period. As analysed by Vandersleyen⁶⁶, it is his mother Ahhotep who appears to have been engaged in conducting domestic and foreign affairs in the absence of her son to a large extent. In the person of Ahhotep, Ahmose had at his disposal a personal and trustworthy "assistant" who could take care of business and who in fact allowed him to concentrate on military actions to a large extent. Ahhotep died between years 17 and 22 of Ahmose⁶⁷, possibly in appr. year 20, in our view⁶⁸. Thus she figures as his "deputy" for a large part of Ahmose's "military period" (up to year 20-22 appr.).

62. E.g. the situation at Elkab, cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 198.

63. CAH II Pt. 1, 70ff.

64. Cf. LÄ I, 100; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 199. Cf. note 71 below.

65. For the details, see above ch. 4.3 obs. 19.

66. *Amosis*, 135-91; LÄ I, 98-100; Yoyotte, in: FW, 225; CAH II Pt. 1, 306ff; Redford, HC, 28ff.

67. Cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 193.

68. In view of the fact that stela CCG 34001 (see below) contains references to internal uprisings which may refer to the Aata and Teti-an revolts (dating to appr. year 20, cf. ch. 4.3 obs. 19). However, Vandersleyen dates the stela to appr. year 17 (*Amosis*, 133; 192).

The major piece of evidence for her activities as "regent" of Egypt and delegate of Ahmose is stela CCG 34001 (= Urk IV, 14-24) ⁶⁹. Here Ahhotep is accompanied by the king and she is referred to as one who governs Egypt and parts of W. Asia, one who unifies and pacifies, who regroups the society's elite (*mnfyt*) around the king, who suppresses local opposition and dissident or even rebel actions, one who brings back those who have fled, one who takes decisions for the people, one who has knowledge of all affairs, one who unites Egypt. Vandersleyen demonstrates that we are not to treat this extraordinary text as merely a hollow and bombastic account ⁷⁰. It must have covered the historical reality of the day to a large extent. The queen-mother Ahhotep seems to have been Ahmose's main instrument in enacting the badly needed domestic adjustments and reorganisations (seen from a different viewpoint, one might perhaps argue that she was actually in charge of things during Ahmose's "military period"). Together, their actions convey the new vigour of a stable and united Egypt under a powerful kingship, in a military as well as in an administrative sense.

Taking as a model the Theban structure of the 17th dyn., Ahmose's first innovation in fact appears to have been to strengthen the position and the role of kingship, a natural reaction after the royal misery of the 13th dyn.! The role of the queen-mother, *in casu* Ahhotep, has been indicated above ⁷¹. In addition, the institution of the God's Wife of Amun now came into being ⁷², stressing the relationship between the royal family and the new national god and securing the position of the heir through dogma. The first God's Wife may have been Satamun, a daughter of Kamose ⁷³. Although only attested posthumously, Ahhotep herself may have occupied the post ⁷⁴. After year 20 her daughter Ahmes-Nefertari takes over ⁷⁵. The royal position was further strengthened by a phenomenon rarely attested otherwise but typical of the period, viz. brother-sister marriages in the royal line ⁷⁶. A final arrangement in this respect

69. Cf., Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 129ff.

70. Ref. last note.

71. For the remarkable role of royal women in this period, cf. e.g. LÄ I, 98ff.; Redford, HC, 28ff.; 65ff.; Bradbury, JARCE 22 (1985), 73ff.

72. Cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 195ff.; AESH, 207; Yoyotte, in: FW, 225; von Beckerath, UGZZ, 215ff.; Redford, HC, 70ff; Gitton, *Épouses*, passim.

73. Cf. Vandersleyen, CdE LII no. 104 (1977), 223-44; Graefe, UG II, 101-3. Gitton, *Épouses*, 28ff. considers Ahmes-Nefertari to be the first office-holder. On Satamun, cf. ibid., p. 23ff; 56ff.

74. Cf. Graefe, UG II, 101-3. Compare Gitton, *Épouses*, 9ff.

75. Cf. LÄ I, 100; 102ff.; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 194ff.; Graefe, UG II, 101-3; Gitton, *Épouses*, 28ff.

76. Cf. LÄ I, 98ff.; II, 568-70; von Beckerath, UGZZ, 215ff.; Vandersleyen, CdE LII no. 104 (1977), 234ff. In general, cf. Černý, JEA 40 (1954), 23ff.

seems to have been a coregency of Ahmose and his successor Amenhotep I⁷⁷.

In the fields of administration and government it is Ahmose who establishes the function of governor of Buhen and future Viceroy of Kush as an independent separate division of government directed by the king⁷⁸. In the domestic sphere we notice that he apparently takes measures to prevent the transmission of local offices in a hereditary line: while the mayorship of Elkab was hereditary in the 17th dyn., this appears to have been suppressed by the early 18th dyn. to a large extent⁷⁹. There is evidence to show that Ahmose reallocated landed property to the advantage of his own family and loyal subjects in the provinces, tying them to the crown as it were⁸⁰. In addition we may draw attention to the fact that, while the central *w'rwt*-divisions of administration still seem to operate in the late 17th dyn.⁸¹, 18th dyn. sources are completely silent on the matter. This suggests that Ahmose eliminated these MK central bureaus as mediaries between vizier and local administration⁸². In the SIP only two of the three *w'rwt* had continued to exist (o.e. the *w'rt* of the South and of the Head of the South)⁸³. A reunited Egypt offered the opportunity to instal a new type of local government, more direct and without intermediary bodies, as a revision of the former system.

Although we lack the sources to confirm our impression with absolute certainty, all this would seem to suggest that Ahmose was concerned with innovations that were meant to reshape the MK and SIP/17th dyn. model of administration into a less complex, more direct type of government. His aim was apparently to establish a powerful and pervasive royal authority based on an administration with more efficient, personal and direct ties between its various echelons. In our view, he learned from the faults of the (late MK) past. Accordingly, he introduced changes into the still existing late MK structure that were to transform it into an efficient and more direct system under a strong and powerful kingship⁸⁴.

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- 77. Cf. Wente, JNES 34 (1975), 270-1; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 114-5; Vittmann, JEA 60 (1974), 250-1; Vandersleyen, CdE LII no. 104 (1977), 235.
 - 78. See above ch. 4.3 obs. 19; cf. AESH, 209; Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 154-5; 177ff.; Schmitz, *Königsohn*, 267; Adams, *Nubia*, 217ff.
 - 79. Cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 199; Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 164.
 - 80. See above section 17, p. 261ff.; ch. 4.3 obs. 21; cf. Yoyotte, in: FW, 223; CAH II Pt. 1, 300-1.
 - 81. Stèle Juridique, cf. Van den Boorn, Date, 375.
 - 82. I.e. the *w'rwt* for local administration. For the *w'rwt* of specialized activities of the central government no clear information is available. Perhaps they were now simply called *ḥ3w*.
 - 83. The northern *w'rt* had become Hyksos territory, of course.
 - 84. For the characteristics of the NK structure, cf. AESH, 188-218; James, PP, 51ff.

Ahmose must have been the first – after Kamose – to have at his disposal a standing army. The 10 year interval between Kamose's death and his own military campaigns indicates that the army was kept well organized, because from the onset of his Avaris campaign he was able to undertake effective military action over a prolonged period of time ⁸⁵. On the domestic front we observe that Ahmose seems to have resumed long-distance trade ⁸⁶. He reopened the quarries at Ma'sara (near Tura) and Bisra (near Assiut) ⁸⁷, and was engaged in building activities ⁸⁸. It must be noted that he seems to have resided in Thebes – at least in the later part of his reign – ⁸⁹, and that he concentrated his attention on Upper Egypt to a large extent, viz. the old Theban homeland ⁹⁰.

In retrospect it would seem warranted to state in general that the early 18th dyn., as the "final stages of MK society", was not a creation of Ahmose. It represented the natural outcome of historical development, from the late MK via the SIP to Ahmose's days. Its MK appearance was enhanced by the fact that Egypt, rediscovering its stability and unity, instinctively looked to the past for guidelines to regulate contemporary policies and behaviour, for models with which to structure contemporary society. The early 18th dyn. had incorporated the recently conquered areas in the north into a unified state. The only models at its disposal to structure and (re)organize a reunited Egypt came from 17th dyn. society, and they were basically of a MK nature. To this may added a superficial, archaizing varnish applied intentionally to present early NK Egypt as the natural and unbroken continuation of late MK Egypt.

On the other hand, it seems evident that Ahmose introduced changes and innovations. Foremost was his stressing the power and position of kingship. In addition he secured for himself personal and trustworthy delegates to carry out business in his absence. The still unstable circumstances demanded his ubiquitous presence. Through personal delegates he could stay in ultimate charge and effectuate the necessary reorganisations. Finally, an urge to return to settled conditions may be observed. As evidenced by the stable and peaceful reign of his successor Amenhotep I ⁹¹, proper administration was reinstalled in all parts of Egypt. The nature of his administration

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- 85. Cf. Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 200; CAH Pt. 1, 300; Redford, HC, 65; AESH, 205–6.
 - 86. Cf. CAH II Pt. 1, 302–3.
 - 87. Ibid., p. 304; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 13.
 - 88. Remains at Abydos, Buhen, Hermonthis, Deir el-Ballas, Coptos, cf. LÄ I, 100; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 203; CAH II Pt. 1, 304. Possibly also at Karnak and Memphis, cf. Helck, *Geschichte*, 149 n. 5.
 - 89. Cf. Vandersleyen, RdE 19 (1967), 153. The role of Deir el-Ballas (cf. n. 12 above) is still debated.
 - 90. Cf. CAH II Pt. 1, 305.
 - 91. Cf. Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, passim.

seems to have been less complex and more direct than its MK prototype, perhaps rather militaristic in character ⁹². It is this framework which we consider to be the historical background of The Duties.

6. THE NK DATE HYPOTHESIS AS AN EXPLANATORY MODEL

In the following pages we will apply our hypothesis as an explanatory model to a number of characteristic features of the text. We will seek to explain them as elements fitting in with the special historical background of Ahmose's reign. The argument will be grouped according to a number of themes.

6.1 Writing and Language

In general the text uses short concise orthographies ⁹³. The presence of a number of terms in clearly archaizing (= OK) orthography has been observed ⁹⁴. On the other hand, we noted some particular orthographies that are associated with the NK ⁹⁵.

The same phenomenon has been observed in the field of lexicography. Some terms have a definite OK time-association, while others betray a NK time-association ⁹⁶.

As for grammar and syntax, we have compiled a list of features of what has been labelled "NK signature" ⁹⁷.

Proceeding from the classical M. Eg. appearance of our text, we appear to be dealing with a peculiar blend of archaizing elements (with respect to either late MK or early NK) and NK features. This mixture would be hard to account for in a MK context, esp. with regard to monumental texts of the period. However, it finds a natural explanation when seen against an early NK background. Monumental texts dating to this part of the 18th dyn., viz. the period of Ahmose – Hatshepsut in particular, all display such a characteristic to a varying degree ⁹⁸.

6.2 Titles

It has been maintained that all titles used in The Duties are purely MK in origin and are no longer used in the 18th dyn. As a result the

92. Cf. AESH, 206.

93. For the 18th dyn., compare Megally, *Recherches*, 9–10; id., *Considerations*, 1–15.

94. See ch. 2.2.2.

95. See ch. 2.2.4.

96. See ch. 2.3.3.

97. See ch. 2.4.2.

98. Cf. Van den Boorn, *Date*, 376–8; Kroeber, *NÄ*, passim.

text would have to be dated to the 13th dyn.⁹⁹

In the relevant commentary to each title¹⁰⁰ we have indicated the framework of references for each one. It appears that *no* title is exclusively restricted to the MK. For each title we have been able to demonstrate that it occurs well into the 18th dyn. or at least to the very end of the 17th dyn.¹⁰¹ Some of the relevant contexts may indeed be called archaizing, but as far as can be seen, these titles *do* cover real functions in early NK sources – with the possibility that the functions could have been designated by other, new titles in different contexts.

It may be noted that in fact the opposite was found to be true. At least one "title" appears to be exclusively used in the 18th dyn.¹⁰² The use of largely MK titles in our text may perhaps be called archaizing, but it is still quite a functional and certainly not a petrified feature.

We must draw attention to another interesting phenomenon in this respect. Some of the titles used in *The Duties* – while having a definite MK origin – show a development in meaning. They are used in a meaning or context that differs considerably from their MK prototype, e.g. *imy-r* *hnwty*, *hk3-hwt*, *nty m srwt*¹⁰³. For these titles it has been possible to demonstrate that their meaning in *The Duties* is in accordance with an attested NK background, not with the known MK meaning.

The result is that titles cannot be used as an argument for dating the text to the late MK. On the other hand, their use is easily explained in the light of our theory. In the times of Ahmose there were no other titles available to designate particular offices than those handed down from the late MK and SIP. They had been used functionally in the age immediately preceding the early 18th dyn. With the typically Egyptian love for uninterrupted traditions, they were now applied to the same or similar offices in an administration that was experiencing changes and innovations while being of the same basic origin as the titles themselves. These changes account for the development in meaning of some of the titles used. At the same time, the use of such titles in the description of a structure lends a text in this particular period a highly valued "air of tradition". It may, therefore, have been an intentional effect to a certain extent. But, it would go too far to consider the use of such titles the result of purely archaizing considerations.

99. Cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 2 n. 1 and passim; Van den Boorn, *Date*, 374–5.

100. For ref., see the Index.

101. E.g. *3tw n tt-hk3*, see ch. 4.3 obs. 15.

102. *iry-sšm*, "responsible official", see ch. 4.3 obs. 6.

103. See resp. ch. 4.3 obs. 2, 8, 13.

6.3 Aspects of Content

This paragraph deals with two types of aspects, viz. those relating to factual content and those pertaining to the general background of the text.

It was observed above that The Duties gives the impression of dealing with two viziers¹⁰⁴. This would accord with the general situation under Ahmose with two viziers covering a united Upper and Lower Egypt, if we accept the existence of a divided vizirate at this time as a plausible inference¹⁰⁵. At the same time, the text shows a preoccupation with the southern vizier¹⁰⁶. At a time when the northern vizirate was developing or had only recently come into existence, this will not come as a surprise. Moreover, it agrees with the natural Theban predominance in Ahmose's day¹⁰⁷ and his own particular interest in the south. The Theban homeland must have remained the heart of the country for quite a time after the reincorporation of the north. The text contains two indications to that effect. First, there is the separate mentioning of Abydos in the Head of the South, an area to which Ahmose paid particular interest¹⁰⁸. Secondly, there is the separate reference to the fortress of Upper Egypt without a corresponding reference to one in the north¹⁰⁹. The text takes a direct interest in the situation at Elephantine, until recently the frontier with Lower Nubia and an area which is known to have been the scene of two revolts in the second half of Ahmose's reign¹¹⁰. In fact, the text alludes to these events in unequivocal detail¹¹¹.

Two other aspects of factual content may now be considered in the light of our proposal. In the structure of the civil administration as reflected by The Duties, it appeared that the "great prison" played a mediating role between vizier and central departments, while no such body was found to operate between vizier and local echelons¹¹². In the 13th dyn. the "great prison" mediated between vizier and both central and local divisions. Here The Duties deviates from the late MK model. In addition, it has been observed that Ahmose apparently eliminated the central *w'rw*t-departments for local government. Now, our text does not refer anywhere to *w'rw*t-divisions¹¹³. Moreover, it restricts the range of the "great

104. See ch. 4.3 obs. 1.

105. Once more we mention the fact that no contemporary sources attest the division.

106. See ch. 4.3 obs. 1.

107. See ch. 4.5.

108. See ch. 4.3 obs. 13-14 and ch. 4.5.

109. See ch. 4.3 obs. 19-21.

110. See ch. 4.3 obs. 20.

111. Ibid.

112. See ch. 3.2.2; 3.4 with *fig. 12* and 4.3 obs. 9.

113. See ch. 4.5.

prison" to central departments. Both observations would seem to point in the same direction, viz. an innovation by Ahmose designed to remove from the late 17th dyn. structure all obstacles blocking a direct and personal control by the vizier over the local administration. Here his urge to install proper, direct and efficient government comes to the forefront. His innovation is apparently aimed at eliminating the possible emergence of local centres of power and avoiding the bureaucratic weight of intermediary bodies. We would find it hard to trace a suitable context for the above observations in the late MK. They simply contradict its administrative structure.

While local offices like the mayorship were hereditary in the 17th dyn., there are clear indications that this was not the case any more in the early NK ¹¹⁴. Again it seems probable that we are dealing with an innovation by Ahmose. The early NK situation fully agrees with the statement of The Duties that it is the vizier who appoints the leading local magistrates ¹¹⁵.

A final aspect of factual content concerns the vizier. In the course of the commentary we had the opportunity to point out the remarkable "military" tasks of the vizier ¹¹⁶. In section 14 he was found determining the composition of the army contingent escorting the king and those staying behind as garrisons in the governmental centres. He was seen issuing instructions to officers personally. Section 17 indicated his personal interest in the affairs of the fortress of Upper Egypt and the arrest of plunderers in its neighbourhood. In addition he was found to be involved in the redistribution of spoils of war. These tasks do not transform the vizier into a military officer, to be sure. They are all offshoots of the three main aspects of his work ¹¹⁷. On the other hand, the explicit reference to these tasks – all with military overtones – is a remarkable phenomenon. In Egyptian history there is virtually no evidence available for a military role of the vizier in whatever capacity.

Now, it would seem that they are appropriate in a time of war such as the late 17th – early 18th dyn. In this particular period the official in charge of the security of the *pr-nsu*, of law and order in Egypt, the chief official of the civil administration including local government and deputy of a "warrior" king: such an official may be expected to take care of additional military aspects to his work. In unstable times of war the latter tend to present themselves in the course of duty. Such times tend to expose aspects of work that otherwise remain dormant.

¹¹⁴. Ibid., cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 220ff.

¹¹⁵. See ch. 4.3 obs. 12. Also note the stipulation that the vizier has to seal every *imy*-*pr* in section 9 (cf. ch. 4.3 obs. 11), as a way of accommodating elements of a SIP tradition in a new central policy (cf. p. 183ff.).

¹¹⁶. See sections 14 and 17 (ch. 1).

¹¹⁷. See ch. 3.

We may now consider aspects of content that concern primarily the general background and atmosphere of the text.

We have discussed at some length the difference in attention paid by the vizier to central departments and to local echelons ¹¹⁸. It is the latter on which he seems to concentrate, with an emphasis on personal and direct connections as the basis of his control over the system. The maintenance of his control over local echelons requires much more effort on his part than control over central departments. Since the latter are located in his direct neighbourhood he may safely delegate their supervision to a functional extension of his bureau ¹¹⁹. The viziral focus on local government would seem to fit the nature and atmosphere of Ahmose's innovations remarkably well. This brings us to another feature that would seem to fit Ahmose's administration in particular. In chapter 3 we discussed the three main aspects of the vizier's activities. Ultimately, one aspect, viz. personal assistancy to the king, appeared to be fundamental to the other two main aspects, as well as to the office as a whole (see *fig. 11*). We described the vizier as "the institutional deputy of the king" in specific fields of royal interest (p. 324). Again Ahmose's reign provides a perfect setting for this characterization.

As pointed out above, Ahmose primarily stressed and propagated royal power and the position of the dynasty ¹²⁰. To assure the continuity of his policy he surrounded himself with collaborators, e.g. the queen-mother who was delegated to conduct domestic and foreign affairs during his long absences. The administration of the reconquered areas in Lower Nubia was charged to an official who answered to him only and thus was a personal deputy in this context, viz. the office of Viceroy of Kush. It is along the same lines that we consider the vizier as institutional deputy to the king in particular fields of royal interest.

In these latter fields the king needed a trustworthy official who could act as his representative with delegated powers. In view of the administrative adaptations and innovations that had to be carried out, he needed the vizier as a chief official to whom he could entrust the enforcement of parts of his policy in his absence ¹²¹. On the other hand, the king had to take care that, in doing so, he would not create an independent centre of power but would remain in ultimate command. In fact, *The Duties* illustrates this consideration in vivid detail in the daily salutation (and information) ceremony of section 3 ¹²². Thus, the basic aspect of the vizier's activities in *The Duties* harmonizes perfectly with Ahmose's attested policy. Just as the governor of Buhen became the personal royal delegate in

118. See ch. 3.2.2. and 3.4.

119. Compare AESH, 217.

120. See ch. 4.5.

121. Note in this respect the stress on the outward operation of the *pr-nsu* as a primary task of the vizier, cf. ch. 3.2.1.

122. Cf. also ch. 3.2.3. The text as a whole testifies to this matter in the third and main aspect of the vizier's activities; see *fig. 11*.

Nubian affairs, so the vizier became the personal royal delegate charged with matters of royal (domestic) government and *pr-nsu*, with the civil administration, with matters concerning royal monopolies and with issues of a particular royal interest ¹²³.

Sources from the early NK, in fact, provide striking parallels for the particular relationship between king and vizier, viz. the Installations of User and Rekhmire ¹²⁴. In these texts the installation is enacted in a solemn ceremony by a royal speech to the newly appointed official, provided with strong ethical and personal undertones. A true royal representative and deputy must be expected to be just, righteous, impartial and incorruptable.

A different feature of the special position enjoyed by the vizier comes to light in The Duties. On three occasions we had the opportunity to draw attention to an interesting "royal allure" displayed by the vizier. The arrangement and the attire of the vizieral session in section 1 is definitely tinged with a touch of royal class ¹²⁵. The appearance of the vizier in the doorway of the great double-gate to proceed to the king in the *pr-3* for the daily salutation ceremony is described in royal terms ¹²⁶. The punishments meted out by the vizier to delinquent officials in section 5 are awesome and can be equated with penal measures that basically are a royal monopoly ¹²⁷. The present feature is easily explained against the background of the vizier's position. Personally installed by the king as his deputy ¹²⁸ in specific fields of royal interest, this "royal allure" becomes the outward expression of the delegated powers and of the particular position bestowed on the vizier.

6.4 Type and Motive of the Composition

The Duties must be considered a stylized literary composition that has gained its present form through the deliberate effort of one author ¹²⁹. We repeat this point with some emphasis because the opposite view has been maintained too often in the past. To quote the most recent characterization by James: "...it is a haphazard composition in many respects. () It does not give the impression of having been composed as a whole by a single person at a particular time; it appears to be a *mélange* of disconnected statements ..." ¹³⁰. We have demonstrated the opposite to be true.

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123. This point touches upon the motives behind the composition. They will be discussed in the next entry.
124. User: Helck, *Wsr*, passim. Rekhmire: Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. CXVI-CXVIII; p. 84ff.; AEL II, 21ff. See also below ch. 4.6.7 on the tradition of the text.
125. Cf. p. 40ff.
126. Cf. section 3, p. 64ff.
127. Cf. p. 116ff.; ch. 4.3 obs. 7.
128. And also personally discharged (at least in the late NK), cf. Černý, JEA 15 (1929), 255.
129. See ch. 2.5-6. For a form-critical discussion, we refer to ch. 4.7.
130. James, PP, 68.

Elsewhere we have distinguished two aspects of the text, viz. a descriptive and a profiling aspect ¹³¹. The descriptive aspect has been the concern of the commentary and chapter 3. We understand the profiling aspect of *The Duties* as its tendency to focus on the central role and paramount position of the vizier. At the expense of other details, the text indicates time and again with meticulous precision when and where the vizier has to control the machinery of government, what motives and aims are to govern his actions etc. The text intends to profile his position by means of the total quantity of the information offered. Carefully chosen terms and compact sentences pinpoint the specific aspects of the function. Next to the intrinsic value of the various details presented by the text, the accumulation of the assembled information acquires its own value as a massive profiling force. The result is a strong emphasis on the vizier's central role and place, with his being deputy to the king as its main aspect – again an observation fully in line with Ahmose's intentions, so it seems.

The impersonal wording of the text amounts in fact to an "eulogy on the vizirate", viz. the office of vizier, not the vizier as an individual or one vizier in particular ¹³². It propagates the office of chief official of Egypt. We notice that the text lays down, at the same time, principles and procedures regulating the activities of officials subordinate to the vizier. Thus it may be argued that *The Duties* constitutes a propagandistic text on the vizirate and the bureaucracy subordinate to it. Its twofold aim is to describe and to propagate the viziral system.

Now, there is the remarkable fact that, as a type of composition, *The Duties* remains unique in Egyptian literature ¹³³. Yet, in the light of the present discussion it seems possible to formulate an attribution of the text to a certain extent.

In our view, *The Duties* comes close to the genre of royal propaganda ¹³⁴. Evidently, we are not dealing with an example of the genre *stricto sensu*. It propagates a civil office and not the royal office. Yet the tenor of the text is tied ultimately to the royal office in that it considers the vizirate as primarily functioning to support the royal office. It propagates, therefore, a "functional extension" of royal government. Following this line of argument, it would seem plausible to label *The Duties* an offshoot of the genre of royal propaganda. Still, the fact remains that the text remains unparalleled. How are we to accommodate this fact in the light of our proposal on its date?

In his valuable chapter on "The Vizir and his Role" in *Pharaoh's*

131. Van den Boorn, *Date*, 379 ff.

132. Note that in none of the four copies the name of a particular vizier is incorporated.

133. For the classification of Egyptian texts, cf. e.g. Spalinger, *Aspects*, 222ff; Redford, *King-Lists*, 215ff. For further remarks, see ch. 4.6.7 and 4.7.

134. For the characteristics, see in particular Posener, LP, *passim*.

People, James makes some noteworthy remarks on the subject. He assumes *The Duties* to be composed in the late 12th / 13th dyn.¹³⁵, the prime time of viziral authority in Egyptian history¹³⁶. Noticing that the text does not seem to cover the whole range of historically attested vizier's tasks¹³⁷, he continues: "the text is in fact only a partial enumeration of duties, reflecting, possibly, a state of affairs in which the vizier's duties were circumscribed by the contraction of the Egyptian state" (= early SIP)¹³⁸. In his assessment the text testifies that: "...the vizier was the final arbiter of most of the internal government of ancient Egypt" and that the vizier was: "...the one who had to shoulder the responsibility of bureaucratic action"¹³⁹. In this respect he speaks of: "...the theoretical claims of this idealized text"¹⁴⁰. His conclusion is extremely interesting: "When *The Duties of the Vizir* was put together, it is not at all improbable that the lofty ideals incorporated in the text were scarcely realizable in the land of Egypt. The very act of composition suggests that all was not well; to find it necessary to set down precepts for action which would have seemed selfevident in happy times, incorporates a kind of condemnation of the moment of composition"¹⁴¹.

We have quoted James at some length because basically we believe his remarks to be true. Implicitly he recognizes its propagandistic claim and he is correct in indicating a connection between the act of composition and historical circumstances that were far from ideal. It is on the particular period of the latter that we disagree.

We cannot believe that *The Duties* was composed in the prime time of the vizirate in the 13th dyn. – as James has it –, a time in which kingship was reduced to the puppet rule of a succession of unrelated petty kings. In such a time, this paramount office did not need "the formulation of the duties and responsibilities of the vizier ... as a guide for action and as a stimulation of conscience for vizirs in the future"¹⁴². That would come down to a fundamental restriction of its position and prestige in this particular period! Here the questions "why" and "by whom" immediately arise.

Our theory crosses the SIP to the other end and marks the reign of Ahmose as the time of composition. It can be seen that James' remarks apply to this period as well. To adapt his words: Egypt was emerging from a state of contraction. All had not been well. The act of composition incorporated a sort of condemnation of the past and the relative present, when the lofty ideals of the text had been or would have been scarcely realizable.

135. PP, 54.

136. Cf. ch. 4.5.

137. This subject will be discussed in the next paragraph.

138. PP, 68.

139. PP, 70–1.

140. PP, 71. On this subject, see below ch. 4.6.6.

141. PP, 71.

142. PP, 54.

Here emerges what we consider to be the motive of the composition. In line with his policy to stabilize, invigorate and innovate Egypt's administration after a period of contraction and decline, Ahmose orders the composition of a propagandistic text stressing and describing the prime position, preeminent role and wide-ranging tasks of the vizirate. At the same time, the structural relationship between the office and a strong kingship is stressed through the basic emphasis on the main aspect of the vizier's activities, viz. his assistantcy to the king. In fact, the vizirate reoccupies its paramount position of the late MK but now under the ultimate command of a powerful kingship. In this way, *The Duties* may be called a "programme" outlined by the king and issued to his institutional deputy in specific fields of royal interest ¹⁴³. As a type of composition, it now comes close to the genre of royal propaganda, because it was probably composed upon royal initiative (see below ch. 4.6.7) and concerns an office that, structurally, enables effective royal government of a delegated type in specific fields of operation. It portrays the vizier as holding Egypt and its government together, next to the king.

The act of composition may have occurred immediately after the death of the "regent" queen-mother Ahhotep (in appr. year 20, cf. ch. 4.5). Her decease deprived Ahmose of the able administrative services of a loyal member of the royal family. The event may have induced Ahmose to instal a proper official as his deputy, now that the reunification of Egypt had been completed. Under these new circumstances he, apparently, preferred to be assisted in the traditional way by a civil servant, instead of another member of the royal line. As will be shown below, he selected this functionary – as well as another chief official in his new administration, viz. the governor of Buhen and future Viceroy of Kush – from a family that may have belonged to the court (see ch. 4.6.7). Thus, it may be suggested that *The Duties* comprised the functional programme which Ahmose issued to his newly appointed vizier: the new situation called for a detailed description of the content and separate duties of the function along the lines of royal policy.

To some extent such an approach may account for the uniqueness of the composition. Periods in Egyptian history, were the reunification of Egypt and the re-establishment of proper administration co-occur with the actions of a powerful royal dynasty, are not a regular phenomenon. Apart from the early NK, only the formative periods of the MK and the Late Period can be labelled as such. Indeed those are precisely the two periods that have produced a considerable amount of royal propagandistic literature. However, no composition of the type of *The Duties* has survived or is known to have existed in these periods. On the other hand, these moments in Egyptian history "appear to have had an invigorating and liberating effect on Egyptian

143. Further remarks on the motive of the composition will be found in ch. 4.6.7 and 4.7.

official style" ¹⁴⁴. Such periods are more prone to innovations and are likely to produce remarkable or even unique texts. The best illustration of this observation for the period under consideration is, of course, provided by the Kamose Stelae. Their style, language and aspects are completely new and as a composition they remain unique in Egyptian history ¹⁴⁵. It also seems to apply to the remarkable passages on the queen-mother in stela CCG 34001, referred to above ¹⁴⁶. The Duties may very well constitute a similar breakaway from the paths previously trodden by Egyptian literature.

To sum up, we consider the early 18th dyn. to be a plausible setting for The Duties as a unique type of composition. In addition, particular historical conditions provide a definite motive for its composition. As a particular genre, the text remains unparalleled in Egyptian history. The text itself, however, has gained its own tradition in the NK. Those aspects will concern us in the next paragraphs.

6.5 Discrepancies

It has been stated that there would be discrepancies between the set of viziral duties presented by The Duties and the range of historically attested viziral tasks. The text would be: "... only a partial enumeration of duties" ¹⁴⁷. Without further comment this is a quite dangerous statement because it evinces a diachronic approach to a source which in itself has only synchronic relevance. One wonders with what set of duties the text is compared here, viz. a blend from OK-MK-NK or a set from a particular period (which one?)? The remark definitely requires some attention on our part.

As a historical source, The Duties displays an interrelated system of viziral tasks covering three main aspects under the ultimate heading of one aspect in particular ¹⁴⁸. It is a source of a specific kind or quality because it offers an integrated survey of the vizier's activities – unique in itself and as a source. Herein lies its great value. The material for comparison is no more than a compilation of fragmentary, random and isolated references to "the vizier at work". It lacks the particular quality of our text. The standard for comparison is, therefore, unbalanced and renders any comparison a rather hazardous undertaking.

To establish the "completeness" of the text in a comparison, we would have to rely first of all – following the historian's principle – on synchronic information. Now, the plain fact is that there is virtually no material available from the late MK, SIP and early NK. Most data come from the middle and late NK. They cannot be used

144. Quotation from Smith & Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 75.

145. Ibid., p. 50ff.; 74ff.; Spalinger, *Aspects*, 44; 88; 199; 222ff.

146. Cf. p. 348; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 134ff.; 176ff.

147. Quotation from James, PP, 68 as the most recent spokesman on the subject. Helck makes similar remarks, *Verwaltung*, passim.

148. See ch. 3, in particular fig. 11.

to "test" the text's completeness in the early NK.

Thus, immediate sources for comparison in any quantity and of comparable quality appear to be lacking. Those scraps of information that are available have been incorporated in the commentary and the present chapter. There the reader can check our contention that there are no fundamental objections against dating the text to Ahmose's reign.

After these remarks we may now return to the subject of this paragraph and illustrate the impossibility of distinguishing discrepancies in the present state of historical knowledge. A few general comments on some so-called "lacunae" in The Duties will suffice.

For instance, a feature absent from the text is the vizier in charge of large-scale royal building activities. Now, one can easily imagine such a task to be implied in the aspect of the vizier as deputy to the king. Although the task is attested in both MK and NK ¹⁴⁹, it seems plausible to assume that circumstances at the very inception of the NK did not immediately invite an explicit description of this particular task as central to the vizier's line of work. Ahmose may have had other priorities in mind for his vizier. However, "comparative" material from the early NK is absent, so these remarks can be no more than suggestions.

The text does not refer to the *pr-hd*, "the treasury", while the vizier is known to have been in ultimate charge of this institution in the NK ¹⁵⁰. This may seem to agree with the fact that no *imy-r pr-hd*, its daily manager, is attested before the reign of Hatshepsut ¹⁵¹ (in fact suggesting that the (state's) treasury, *pr-hd*, may have coincided with the royal treasury (headed by the *imy-r htm*) to a large extent in the early NK). In the MK the institution was headed by an *imy-r 'hnwty* ¹⁵², to which our text does not refer either. The date proposed for The Duties seems, therefore, to agree to some extent with the historical reality of the period. At the same time, one can imagine that this task may have been implicit in the aspects of royal government and civil administration which are mentioned as viziral fields of operation in our text. In addition, we may consider the *pr-hd*, the state's treasury, to come under the general and collective heading *h3w*, "(central) departments" in The Duties. Characteristic of these *h3w* in the text, it operated with relative independence under the ultimate control of the vizier ¹⁵³. This would seem to agree with historical NK reality. A second characteristic is that the text does not concentrate on *h3w* in great detail. One may conclude

149. Cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 44ff. We must note that – at least in Nubia – stress is laid on military construction at the expense of royal religious building in the early NK (cf. Adams, *Nubia*, 219–25). Military building may not have been a task of the vizier.

150. Cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 185ff.

151. Ibid., p. 508; cf. p. 182ff.; Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 158–9.

152. Cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 180ff.

153. See ch. 3.2.2 and 3.4.

that, for these reasons, the *pr-hd* has no separate treatment in the text. But again, as long as there are no data on the *pr-hd* of the late MK, SIP and early NK, no real "comparison" can be made.

The same line of argument can be followed with regard to e.g. the vizier as president of the great *knbt* (first attested mid 18th dyn.) or his tasks concerning the workmen-village of Deir el-Medineh (first attested temp. Amenhotep I). These tasks may not have been indicated because they are later developments. They may have been anticipated in the three main aspects of our text which dates to an earlier and therefore different period.

This rather awkward type of discussion could be continued indefinitely. In each instance, the argument would come down to stressing the implicit range of the three aspects of the vizier's activities, indicating the particular nature of The Duties and pointing to the mechanics of historical development. We can only establish that a given number of viziral tasks illustrate the three main aspects of work at the possible expense of other tasks that may have been historical reality in Ahmose's reign. If this is really the case - which remains to be determined -, we can only speculate why those tasks have remained implicit in the text (exigencies of Ahmose's policy?)¹⁵⁴. As long as we do not possess a corpus of reliable historical information from the late MK, the SIP and the early NK, there is no way to establish the validity and "completeness" of The Duties in a truly historical sense.

In an attempt to assess the value and validity of the text we prefer to chose a different approach.

6.6 Ideal and Archaism versus Reality

A fundamental issue is whether it is possible to assess the value of The Duties. Are we permitted to consider the text a functional description of the vizirate and use it accordingly? Or do we have to regard the composition as devoid of connections with historical reality and purely governed by dogmatic ideal and/or archaism. The issue in fact comes down to establishing the position of the text on two interrelated *continua*:

- | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 1) Archaism | <i>versus</i> | historical reality |
| 2) Ideal ("Idealtypus") | <i>versus</i> | historical reality |

- 1) Archaism *versus* historical reality

In paragraph 5 of the present chapter it has been argued that the early 18th dyn. society, as "the final stage of MK society", is not to be considered a creation by Ahmose. It represents the outcome of historical development in Thebes, handing down to Ahmose's

154. Perhaps also, their implicit status in or absence from the text were compensated for by other texts and scenes in the tomb-decoration of early NK viziers.

day a structure of society that remained basically unchanged. When a description of an (administrative) structure is called for under Ahmose, historical circumstances thus inevitably invite the use of MK/SIP terminology (e.g. titles). This is one characteristic of The Duties.

We have also observed that the text incorporates references to innovations in the system carried out by Ahmose ¹⁵⁵. It even echoes particular historical events of the day ¹⁵⁶. These indications have not been suppressed by archaizing tendencies. Thus, the text's connection with early NK history is a second characteristic.

At the same time it can generally be maintained that archaism is a feature of The Duties. It is used as a mechanism instrumental in providing the text with the highly-valued "air of tradition". Thus the text acquires an added quality, viz. it gains an uninterrupted connection with the esteemed MK. Archaizing tendencies are particularly evident in the fields of orthography and lexicography ¹⁵⁷. However, the phenomenon is not strong enough in those fields to suppress indications to the contrary ¹⁵⁸. We may add to this the fields of grammar and syntax where the text combines a classical, traditional appearance with elements of "NK signature" ¹⁵⁹. Archaizing tendencies were found to affect the use of titles ¹⁶⁰. Yet some titles appeared to operate in contexts that accord with an attested NK background instead of their former MK meanings. Again, archaizing tendencies apparently did not have the power to keep the text from incorporating such elements. In our estimation, therefore, The Duties is definitely concerned with the historical reality of Ahmose's reign. Although the text is provided with archaizing features, they seem to be applied rather like a varnish (insofar as they are not produced by the period itself as functional features), providing the text with an added quality but not affecting its roots in actual history.

2) Ideal *versus* historical reality

The question is to what degree the text has to be considered an ideal and abstract description of the vizirate based purely on dogmatic theory ("Idealtypus").

We indicated what we consider to be the motive of the composition ¹⁶¹. In line with his general policy Ahmose orders the composition of a propagandistic text – as an offshoot of royal propaganda –, stressing the prime importance and position of the vizirate. The text may be called a programme outlined by the

155. See ch. 4.5 and 4.6.3.

156. See ch. 4.3 obs. 19–21 and 4.6.3.

157. See ch. 2.2 and 2.3.

158. Ibid.

159. See ch. 2.4.2.

160. See ch. 4.6.2.

161. See ch. 4.6.4.

king and issued to the vizier, describing the structure and functions of the office in the way planned and pursued by the king after a period of state-contraction.

Following this approach the text is provided with propagandistic incentives and claims. It describes structures and procedures as they should be ideally. However, its point of departure must have been the situation and the circumstances of the period itself. Every ideal is rooted in reality somewhere, if its purport is to govern contemporary and future action. Conditions of the early 18th dyn. have been found to be basically (late) MK in nature. Therefore, its point of departure, its base, may be called the legacy of MK structures and procedures as experienced in Ahmose's reign. Thus, it is unwarranted to speak of the willful transfer of an abstract MK model - by way of "Idealtypus" - to the early NK by Ahmose (which would have lent the text a truly archaizing and purely idealized nature). In addition we refer to the remarks under (1) above.

One may ask now what part ideal-theory played in *The Duties*. After the above remarks, it is evident that this first of all concerns the notion of stability and permanence conveyed by the text. It portrays the vizier's system in full and stable operation, while historical conditions of the period indicate this to be the probable end-result of Ahmose's reorganizations. Ideal-theory thus eliminates the element of instability, of reconstruction, of the processes behind the system, and leads to the description of the desired end-result. But again we observe that this is not completely true. The text does in fact contain references to unsettled conditions and it does describe the vizier's procedural reaction to these in the midst of subjects and procedures with no apparent time-association¹⁶². Here historical events and their effects creep into the timeless description dominated by considerations of programme and propaganda.

In our view, *The Duties* describes the operation of the vizirate as it should be according to the king. Thus, it defines the desired end-result of royal policy. At the same time, it is not detached from reality since it proceeds from basically MK structures handed down to and still operative in Ahmose's days. Furthermore, the force of theory and dogma has not been able to keep the text from alluding to particular historical events.

We may now form an assessment. Although provided with archaizing tendencies, the text is firmly rooted in the history of Ahmose's reign. Because it amounts to the description of the desired end-result of royal policy in the form of a programmatical and propagandistic composition, *The Duties* is of prime importance for a true understanding of the vizirate (of the early NK). It aims at providing an ideal, comprehensive survey of the activities of the office in assisting royal government. Thus, it enables a profound insight into the theoretical aims and probable achievements of

162. See ch. 4.3 obs. 19-21 and 4.6.3.

Ahmose's policy. What is equally important, the text discloses the fundamental Egyptian (royal) view on the nature and the scope of the early NK vizirate.

Because the text entails a theoretical claim, it cannot be established with absolute certainty whether the machinery in fact worked along the lines of the description in every detail. Once more, we stress that there is no evidence to suggest that it did not do so (apart from a universal discrepancy between the theory and practice of bureaucracy and administration).

Finally, we draw attention to the fact that the early 18th dyn. permits a plausible assessment of the value and the nature of the text. A similar assessment in the particular history of the 13th dyn. would be hard to reach.

In conjunction with the present discussion, the historical background proposed here also provides a logical explanation for the peculiar tradition of the text in the NK.

6.7 The Tradition of the The Text

A remarkable feature of *The Duties* is that, while it remained unparalleled as a type of composition ¹⁶³, it acquired a particular tradition in the NK. Copies were found in four viziral tombs in Thebes, viz. TT no. 131 (User), TT no. 100 (Rekhmire), TT no. 29 (Amenemopet), dating to the 18th dyn., and TT no. 106 (Paser) of the 19th dyn. Evidently the text was highly valued by these southern viziers ¹⁶⁴. The present paragraph attempts to discover the reasons for this appreciation.

Between the proposed date of composition and the first copy of the text in User's tomb, there lie some fifty years ¹⁶⁵. In those fifty years something happened to the original version (temp. Ahmose). In the commentary it was argued that section 15 (R24) probably constitutes an intrusion from the Installation-text of User and Rekhmire ¹⁶⁶. An exchange in the opposite direction is also attested. The last lines of the Installation-text may be considered an intrusion from *The Duties* ¹⁶⁷. Moreover, the latter intrusion was adapted to some degree to fit the framework of the Installation. The exchange and the adaptation must have occurred in the fifty years following the composition of *The Duties*.

As far as we are aware, this exchange of intrusions is unique in Egyptian literature. It demonstrates the close connections between both texts. There is a second feature of correspondence between the

163. See ch. 4.6.4.

164. Although the text concentrates on Upper Egypt (ch. 4.6.3), it may have been held in the same esteem by northern viziers in the NK. There is no information on the subject, however.

165. Chronology after AESH, 184 and 224. For the details, see below *fig. 13*.

166. See p. 232ff.

167. See the Appendix.

two. The Installation-text has a NK tradition similar to The Duties. Three copies have been found in viziral tombs in Thebes, viz. TT no. 131 (User), TT no. 100 (Rekhmire) and TT no. 66 (Hapu) ¹⁶⁸. The first two also contain The Duties (see above). TT no. 66 dates to the reign of Tuthmosis IV ¹⁶⁹.

In view of all this, it would seem plausible to propose a common origin. Thus, the Installation-text would also trace its composition to the reign of Ahmose ¹⁷⁰, suggesting that a particular configuration of texts was composed in those days.

To return for a moment to the exchange of intrusions, one might wonder what the explanation of the phenomenon could be. In our view, it is not enough to point to the shared tomb-context in which the texts were found. Equally, mistakes in copying the same "Vorlage" do not account for the *exchange* of intrusions. The explanation may be found in shared experiences of the tomb owners.

The Installation-text has been preserved as a tomb-inscription ¹⁷¹. However, its subject is the personal address by the king to his newly appointed vizier. Herein are laid down the principles which should govern the vizier's conduct of office. As early as 1909, Sethe indicated that the text does not seem to have been composed as a tomb-inscription ¹⁷². While phrased in personal terms (addressing a particular vizier), its three parallel versions suggest that the text was "ein ständiges Requisit des Zeremoniells für die Einsetzung des Veziers unter der 18. Dyn." ¹⁷³ and thus was not composed primarily for one vizier in particular. Sethe quotes a short inscription from Rekhmire's tomb in support of his contention, that the text may have been used as such as early as the vizier Ahmose Aametju ¹⁷⁴. The latter probably started his viziral career in the middle of the reign of Amenhotep I ¹⁷⁵. This would suggest that the text had been in "use" (in whatever way) since his *floruit*. Since we can see no structural reason as yet to doubt Sethe's argument, we may regard the Installation-text as the literary reflection of a royal speech to "the vizier in general" on the occasion of his installation. It seems to have been used as early as Amenhotep I. At least three viziers valued this ceremonial text to such an extent, that they incorporated it in their tomb-inscriptions.

In accordance with their close connections, we may transfer the argument from the Installation to The Duties. We are convinced that the latter was not composed for funeral purposes. In chapter 4.6.4 we

168. Cf. Davies, *Rekhmire*, 84-5.

169. Cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 298. See *fig. 13* below.

170. We have not come across basic evidence against such a date.

171. Edition: Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. XIV-XV; CXVI-CXVIII; p. 84ff.; Urk IV, 1086,11 - 1093,6; Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 18-29. Additional lit.: Sethe, *Einsetzung*; AEL II, 21-4.

172. *Einsetzung*, 53ff. (contra e.g. BAR II, 272).

173. Quotation, *ibid.*, p. 53.

174. *Ibid.*, p. 54 = Davies, *Rekhmire*, Pl. XVI col. 17-21; p. 17; cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 293.

175. Cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 289ff. See below *fig. 13*.

described it as the literary and propagandistic reflection of a part of Ahmose's political programme. It is hard to imagine such a text as being an appropriate funeral composition for a vizier's tomb. In conjunction with the argument on the Installation, the description invites the suggestion that The Duties was composed on the occasion of the installation by Ahmose of a vizier whose name remains unknown to date ¹⁷⁶. The installation may have occurred after the death of the "regent" queen-mother Ahhotep. The king laid down a set of principles and procedures that described the desired structure and operation of the vizirate as the fundamental office supporting royal government. The programmatical text may have been issued to his first vizier. In subsequent history it acquired a significance and esteem comparable to the Installation. With this approach, The Duties, as well as the Installation, will have played a crucial role in the career of early NK viziers ¹⁷⁷. However, we cannot be sure whether after Ahmose the texts kept their original function on the occasion of viziral installations, as Sethe has it. Their original function may only have been remembered in subsequent history. That would not seriously affect their appreciation by viziers of later generations (up to Amenemopet, Hapu and even Paser).

This approach may offer a partial explanation for the particular NK tradition of both texts. It may also account for the attested connections between the two and for the exchange of intrusions. Issued together originally on the same occasion, they came to be recognized as a "corpus". Because of their original function, they acquired an additional importance as part of the tomb-decoration after the death of the officials. In the ca. fifty years that elapsed since their composition, parts of both texts got mixed up and disentangled again ¹⁷⁸. The new divisions did not conform to the original versions, because the exact meaning of both texts may have become somewhat blurred in the course of the years. So, the respective intrusions were not reversed but adapted (at least in the Installation). Although the two texts are quite different in nature, purport and atmosphere ¹⁷⁹, the "corpus" idea may account for their affinities as well as for the exchange of intrusions ¹⁸⁰.

176. For the early NK viziers, see below *fig. 13*.

177. Parallels for texts important during someone's lifetime and ending up in the tomb-decoration are e.g. the letter to Harkhuf and the Inscription of Mes.

178. Suggesting that they had lost already much of their original function.

179. They have one feature in common, viz. a strong personal relationship between king and vizier!

180. A second type of "Installation-text" does not seem to have become part of the "corpus", viz. the "Berufung" of User (Helck, *Wsr*). One other contemporary version (on papyrus!) of this tomb-inscription has survived (o.c.).

There is another observation that may to a certain degree account for the appreciation of The Duties – by implication also of the Installation – in later years. We have observed that the first two copies of both texts were found in the tombs of User and Rekhmire (see above). Now, both viziers were members of the same family of viziers. The sequence of NK viziers – esp. the early office-holders – is far from clear, but here are what seem to be the facts, see *fig. 13* 181.

The first vizier to be established in office with certainty is Ahmose Aametju. From that moment on the southern vizirate will remain in the same family for three generations. The tomb of his son User (TT no. 131) is the first to record both The Duties and The Installation. Above we pointed out Sethe's suggestion that Aametju may already have used the texts. Rekhmire inherits the office from his uncle User and again incorporates both texts in his tomb. With him the line of hereditary viziers ends but each of the two texts are again recorded by two of his successors. After a gap of some 120 years, Paser once more includes The Duties in his tomb-inscriptions in the 19th dyn. Thus, it is in the powerful Aametju-family¹⁸² that the texts have been preserved. It follows from our theory on the date of The Duties that other copies would have been recorded by the vizier(s) preceding Aametju. Unfortunately, only a few names of viziers have survived which may tentatively be placed between Ahmose and Aametju. We are not even sure how many predecessors Aametju may have had (see below). So it looks as if Aametju's position was an acquired and not an inherited one. However, there are indications to the contrary.

Although the exact type of kinship remains obscure, it is evident that Aametju belonged to the same family as Turo, the governor of Buhen under Ahmose and the later Viceroy of Kush under both Amenhotep I and Tuthmosis I¹⁸³. Turo may have inherited the office from his father Ahmose-sa-Tait¹⁸⁴. This Turo had been appointed by Ahmose to structure the newly founded Nubian administration¹⁸⁵. As such he was one of the personal delegates of the king charged

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181. *Fig. 13* is based on a synthesis – as far as possible – of discussions in: Helck, *Verwaltung*, 285–98; 433–41; id., *Wsr*, 115–7; Caminos-James, *Silsilah I*, 42–52; 57–63; Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 156–8; Redford, HC, 77; Megally, *Recherches*, 279 n. 4; Davies, *Rekhmire*, 101–2; Vernus, RdE 33 (1981), 114 (v); 115–6; Murnane, *Coregencies*, 36 (c); Hornung, *Grabkammer*, 115ff.; Dunham, JEA 15 (1929), 164–5; Bradbury, JARCE 22 (1985), 87. The approximate dates follow AESH, 184.
 182. Cf. Van den Boorn, *Date*, 380.
 183. Cf. *Verwaltung*, 289–90; CAH II Pt. 1, 298–9; Smith & Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976), 67 n. 45; von Beckerath, UGZZ, 214; Vandersleyen, *Amosis*, 57; 61 n. 7; 63; 73 n. 4; 196; Caminos-James, *Silsilah I*, 59–60; Hornung, *Grabkammer*, 115; Adams, *Nubia*, 229; Habachi, *Kush* 7 (1959), 45–63.
 184. Cf. von Beckerath, UGZZ, 214–5; Adams, *Nubia*, 704 n. 32; Habachi, *Kush* 7 (1959), 45–63.
 185. See ch. 4.3 obs. 19; 4.5 and 4.6.3–4.

18th dyn.

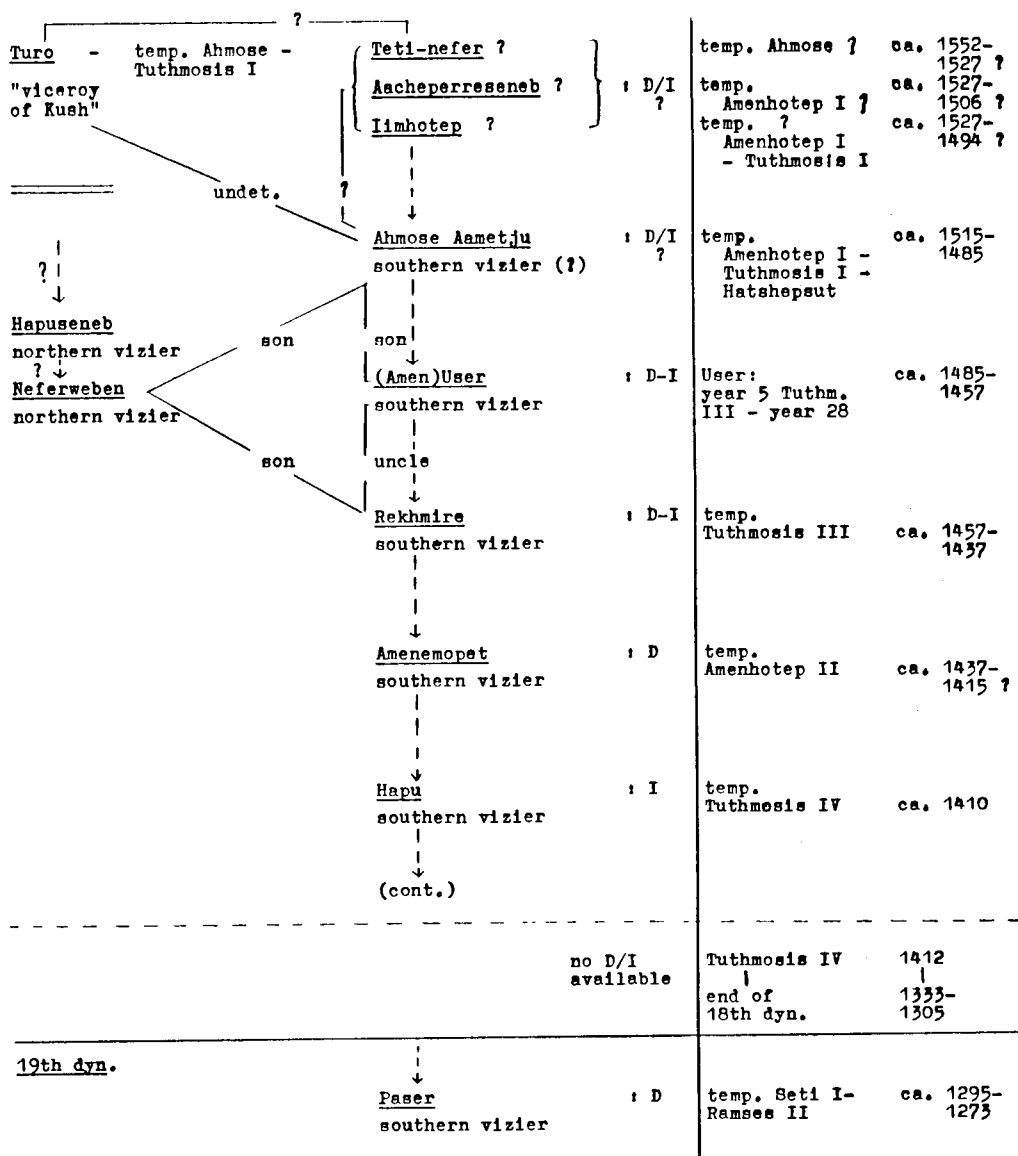


Fig. 13

Approximate sequence of NK viziers showing kinship-relations and the transmittance of The Duties and The Installation-text

————— family
 -----> transmittance of office
 D : The Duties recorded in tomb
 I : The Installation recorded in tomb

with the enactment of parts of his programme of reorganization and innovation.

In earlier parts of the present chapter we have argued that the vizier held a similar position and function under Ahmose ¹⁸⁶. The Duties was found to be a kind of programme for the office along the lines of Ahmose's policy ¹⁸⁷. With the established kinship relation between Aametju and Turo, it seems plausible now to suggest that Aametju's viziral predecessor(s) did in fact hold a comparably strong position. Taking this view, the powerful place of the Aametju-family is not a phenomenon postdating the reign of Ahmose. The family probably continued to function in the vizirate in a way established as early as Ahmose. On the evidence available, it might be proposed that the vizier(s) preceding Aametju came from the same family (or interrelated families) as Turo, his father and Aametju himself. To be sure, this reconstruction, although plausible in itself, remains a theory in view of the absence of pertinent sources.

What in fact emerges from the reconstruction is the existence of one or perhaps two families from which Ahmose selected a number of trustworthy officials to occupy key-functions in his newly organized administration. Turo and (probably) his father demonstrate this in the case of the Nubian division; his relative Aametju and the latter's supposed official predecessor(s) demonstrate it in the case of the vizirate. In this reconstruction the bridge between fact and theory is only about fifty years of unattested rule (Ahmose - Aametju). A look at *fig. 13* will suffice to recognize that, if Turo was an elder but still contemporary relative of Aametju, as has been suggested ¹⁸⁸, we need only one vizier (limhotep?) to fill the gap between Ahmose and Aametju. When we join this piece of information to the fact that Aametju and his successors were firmly established in power, it becomes quite probable that this first enigmatic vizier under Ahmose held the same strong position as his successors. He may in fact have founded that position on his appointment by Ahmose to enact the latter's policy. In view of the particular family configuration, this unknown vizier was probably a relative of both Aametju and Turo.

If the reconstruction is accepted, we find one or perhaps two related families in charge of (at least) two key-positions in Ahmose's administration - definitely suggesting the existence of a tightly knit, powerful court in support of the "warrior-king" Ahmose. The picture agrees with the king's policy to seek the support of personal delegates for the enactment of his reorganizations ¹⁸⁹. For at least four generations (including the unknown vizier under Ahmose), the vizirate becomes hereditary. This may have been planned policy on the part of the king. In fact, it comes down to a re-establishment of the position of the vizirate of the 13th dyn. ¹⁹⁰. In those days the

186. See ch. 4.6.3-4.

187. See ch. 4.6.4 and 4.6.6.

188. Ref. note 183.

189. See ch. 4.5 and 4.6.3-4.

190. Cf. above p. 359.

'Ankhu-family had dominated the office ¹⁹¹. Now, under a powerful kingship, the situation was restored with the Aametju-family in charge of the vizirate. In the late MK the viziers reigned as uncrowned kings; in the early 18th dyn. things had changed. Viziers held a similar position, but now in support of a strong monarchy.

This background may offer an additional explanation for the particular appreciation of *The Duties* (and the Installation). The family owed its position – so to speak – to the desired end–result of the vizirate's programme as indicated by Ahmose in *The Duties*. The text provided the theoretical foundation and legitimization of that position. To judge by the strength of the family's position in subsequent history, the programme laid down in *The Duties* was quite succesful in the reality, and this can only have added to its appreciation.

Three aspects can now be said to have contributed to the text's tradition in the NK, viz. its original function on the occasion of the installation ceremony under Ahmose, its functional and emotional value as the foundation – in literary form – of the strong early NK vizirate, and the interests of a particular family. With the end of the hereditary line of viziers, only the third aspect disappears. The first two account for the continued appreciation of *The Duties* after Rekhmire. It remained the basic text on the theory and practise underlying the NK vizirate and dating to the formative period of the office and of the NK under Ahmose. Some 250 years after its composition, Paser was still impressed by it ¹⁹². Although perhaps outdated by history in his time, the text still formulated the basic principles from which his own vizirate had evolved.

It seems to be evident that in the particular history of the early NK a perfect setting can be found to account for the special tradition in the NK of our unparalleled text.

7. FORM–CRITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Up to this point, the present chapter has been engaged in matters related to the date of composition of *The Duties*. Here we will attempt to place its form in a historical perspective.

It may seem a redundant remark, but we start the discussion with a point to be stressed with some emphasis. *The Duties* is not a historical document in itself. It does not record or pattern past events to the perception of contemporary Egyptian society, nor does

¹⁹¹. See ch. 4.5.

¹⁹². Paser's position is comparable to that of the unknown vizier under Ahmose. He is the first southern vizier of the rising 19th dyn., an age characterized by clear, restorative tendencies, cf. Van den Boorn, Date, 381; Redford, *King-Lists*, 190ff.

it pretend to do so ¹⁹³. It acquired a historical value to later generations of the NK (cf. the previous paragraph of this chapter), and, of course, to modern egyptology. We are not to consider it the format of a piece of Egyptian historiography ¹⁹⁴.

The unparalleled form which this document has taken remains an intriguing point and deserves closer examination ¹⁹⁵. Our investigation has established the fact that we are dealing with a literary, one-author-composition dating to the 2nd half of the 16th century B.C. We have outlined its historical setting and we have traced, as far as evidence permits us to, the incentives that motivated the act of composition ¹⁹⁶. However, no suggestion has been made as to why the author may have moulded the text into its present, unprecedented form.

Speculation might provide "answers" here: the historical setting was (virtually) unparalleled; exigencies of Ahmose's new programme called for new models; as literary vehicle of parts of his programme, past periods could not provide fitting formats, etc. We feel that such "answers" will not do entirely. They explain perhaps some of its uniqueness in form, they do not explain the form itself.

The listing of duties and the pinpointing of procedures and fields of application as exhibited by our text, are indeed without parallels, either before or after the early NK. If we were to give it a name as a genre once attested, we might perhaps venture to call it the sole example in existence of a "*tp-rd*-genre", after the first word of the text, for it describes – in the manner of an instruction – the guiding principle duties that should govern the activities of a vizier. But without parallels or attested affinities, this is clearly a rather hazardous way to proceed.

Commenting on the type of composition, we classified the text as "a break-away from the paths trodden by Egyptian literature" ¹⁹⁷. As unique as its present form may be, it is hard to imagine that it came out of the blue altogether. Could it be possible that we are dealing with a literary composition inspired by (un)related strands from different periods; a newly composed, literary amalgam of forms and elements from past and present?

In fact, we have some evidence in favour of such a view. The text was found to consist of – at least – three parts ¹⁹⁸. We observe that the division into parts is not an organizing mechanism. It has no apparent function for structuring the text. It figures vaguely in the background (cf. chapter 2.5.2). Each part has been shown to possess its own characteristics in the fields of orthography, lexicography, grammar and syntax. The sequence of nineteen interlocked sections

193. Cf. Redford's remarks in *King-Lists*, xiiiff.

194. See also above ch. 4.6.4.

195. Cf. Redford's plea, in: *ESS*, 14ff.

196. See the previous paragraphs of this chapter.

197. See p. 360.

198. For the details of this secondary division, see ch. 2.

199 provides the text with a chain of cohesion, but the same is incapable of blurring the distinctive traits and nature of each part. With due caution it would seem possible, on the basis of the lists of chapter 2, to group parts 1 and 2 together, as opposed to part 3. When set against part 3, parts 1-2 show a predominance of concise orthographies and of grammatical features of "NK signature"; distinctive points of grammar and syntax; a more complicated and varied sectional structure; particular and distinct types of patterning; differences in the nature of content. When set against part 1, parts 2-3 belong together only with regard to conspicuous orthographies and "neologisms" 200. The overall, bipartite division that emerges may represent the two (sets of) sources of inspiration available to the author of The Duties.

The impression is created that parts 1-2 may have been inspired primarily by written sources of a more or less literary nature from the MK, in which case we would favour the 12th dyn. 201. Though clearly related in a number of features 202, parts 1 and 2 are distinct through the fact that part 1 looks like a self-contained unit, as compared with part 2. Thus, perhaps two types of sources or two of same type might be postulated.

As models of inspiration to the early NK author, we could think of "inventory" texts, describing the functional aspects of an office, *in casu* the vizirate. Although unattested at present, one might perhaps compare the genre of directories as described by Redford for the Late Period 203. A more appropriate proposal could be to think in terms of "functional testaments" of office-holders to their successors in office 204. Such "testaments" might fit the wider context of OK-MK didactic literature of which some famous examples have been preserved, e.g. the Instructions of Kagemni and Ptahhotep 205. In fact, in the royal sphere we possess at least two "testaments" or instructions to successors, viz. the Instruction to Merikare and the Instruction of Amenemhat 206. These texts represent the ethical, propagandistic *sb3yt*-genre of "instruction". It is interesting to observe in this respect that The Duties was labelled above "an offshoot of royal propaganda" 207. The legalistic, administrative wording of our text would call for (a) non-ethical variant(s) of this genre as "proto-type(s)" for parts 1-2.

199. Excluding for convenience's sake the Final Columns.

200. The specifics are listed in ch. 2.

201. Compare, Redford, *King-Lists*, 170-1.

202. See ch. 2.5.2.

203. *King-Lists*, 221-2; cf. Spalinger, *Aspects*, 222-3 n. 1 (further lit.).

204. The fact that MK vizirate increasingly became a hereditary affair might have triggered such instructive testaments in family circles.

205. For lit., cf. AEL I, 59ff.

206. *Ibid.*, p. 97ff; 135ff.

207. See p. 357.

Part 3 would seem to have been influenced or inspired by different strands. As compared with parts 1-2, a sober and rather rigid character is evident with a marked contrast in sectional structure, patterning, language, aspects of content and general atmosphere. This may reflect an oral source (of "pseudo-aretological" quality). Observing the fact that the clearest historical features of "NK signature" are to be found in this part ²⁰⁸, we could envisage a (formalized?) speech incorporating formal instructions on the content and conduct of the office to the new office-holder by the king. In this regard, the oral source may come quite close, or even constitute a counterpart, to the Installation-text (reproducing a royal speech to the new vizier concerning the conduct (ethical!) of office) ²⁰⁹. The speech may have been written down, as in the case of the Installation-speech ²¹⁰. In fact, it is this part 3 of The Duties that exhibits the intrusion from the said Installation-text (-speech) ²¹¹. It would equally be possible to consider a blend of some MK oral tradition of this type and an oral source of the early NK (probably Ahmose) reaching the author, or an early NK oral source already incorporating elements of a MK tradition.

The foregoing remarks remain, of course, hypothetical to a large extent. Evidently, it would require a separate monograph to investigate and isolate all possible sources of inspiration and model-value to The Duties. However, it seems quite probable to us that the text "did not come out of the blue altogether". The late 16th century author seems to have drawn his inspiration from at least two different and unrelated types of material available to him, viz. (non-ethical) MK didactic literature of a type fostered in the upper circles of state and an early NK oral source. He used these moulds to shape the content which he was expected to perpetuate. As has become evident in the previous parts of this study, the moulds have contaminated the early NK content to some extent, for the text shows throughout a characteristic mixture of MK and early NK features. In view of the motives behind the composition ²¹², this effect, and thus the selection of moulds that produced it, probably reflects a conscious effort on the part of the author and his royal instructor.

To us, the form of The Duties represents an amalgam of at least two different and unrelated strands. The author's creative input has been to select the moulds and materials and to transform them into a literary and coherent composition fully meeting the demands of early NK royal policy. As regards form, it reflects a singular synthesis of MK and early NK written and oral traditions. As regards genre, it reflects a work of descriptive-administrative and literary quality that remains unprecedented in Egyptian history.

208. See ch. 4.3 obs. 12-21.

209. See ch. 4.6.7 for the connections between both texts.

210. Ibid.

211. Ibid.

212. See ch. 4.6.4.

CONCLUSION

It is perhaps rather peculiar to start a chapter of conclusions with a restriction, but it is imperative that we do. Of the 36 columns of The Duties (in the R-version), the last 7 3/4 cols. or some 22% are inaccessible to us in their present condition (cf. chapter 1.3 The Final Columns). This means that slightly less than a quarter of the information originally supplied by the text remains obscure. We are left with about 78% of the original "data-base". Compared with numerous other texts from ancient Egypt, this is not a bad score. But in the case of a programmatical text such as The Duties, every bit of information counts when reconstructing the details, nature, purport and range of the programme it expounds. Thus, inevitably the imperfect state of preservation of the text qualifies our conclusions. They are incomplete by nature. Bearing this in mind, we may list the main results of our study.

The Duties of the Vizier was composed in the second half of the reign of Ahmose, first king of the 18th dyn. and founder of the NK. It was composed as an offshoot of royal propaganda and represents a genre that remains unparalleled in Egyptian literature. We have suggested that a conflation of MK written and early NK oral sources determined or contributed to its present form. The text may be considered a literary reflection or condensation of Ahmose's policy with regard to the vizirate as the main civil office supporting royal government. It defines the desired end-result of a part of his programme of internal stabilization and reorganization after a period of state-contraction and decline in the SIP. The text incorporates the formulation of the nature, structure, tasks and procedures of the vizirate in the way planned and pursued by the king. Its twofold aim is to describe and to propagate the viziral system of internal government. In short, it portrays the vizirate as holding Egypt and its government together, next to the king. Although provided with (formal) archaizing features, the text is firmly rooted in the particular history of the early NK.

It represents the creation of a single author, as evidenced by the presence of patterning and stylization. Its main structure consists of a series of interlocked sections, i.e. self-contained units of content and form. Thus, the text has to be considered a stylized, literary composition in prose.

The mass of detailed information provided by the text on the (planned) activities of an early NK vizier presents a coherent and consistent picture. Herein three main aspects emerge. The vizier is described as the managing director of the *pr-nsw*, the seat of royal government. This overall task involves the categories of internal operation; security; internal order and justice; personnel and outward operation. A second overall task pertains to the vizier as head of the civil administration. This incorporates the categories of overall dispensation of justice to civil servants; operational control over the system and its bureaucracy, to be subdivided into an indirect, ultimate control over the *h3w*-level of central departments and a personal, direct control over the echelons of local government; appointment of civil servants, to be subdivided into a personal

involvement in the appointment of *pr-nsu*-personnel and leading local magistrates, and probably an indirect, delegated involvement in the appointment of *h3w*-personnel. A third overall aspect of the vizier's activities is the fact that he is deputy of the king, viz. as a personal delegate structurally channeling all information to the king and representing the king on a personal level; as an executive deputy or proxy wielding delegated powers in matters of dogma-related royal monopolies concerning "law" and material assets, in addition to representing the king in particular matters involving royal interests. His assistancy to the king is fundamental to the other two aspects. Thus, it denotes the true basis for the functions of an early NK vizier.

The particular tradition which *The Duties* gains in the NK finds its explanation in the history of the early NK. Three aspects have contributed to it, viz. its original function on the occasion of the installation of an unknown vizier – probably the predecessor of Ahmose Aametju – under Ahmose; a functional and emotional value as the literary foundation of the strong early NK vizirate; and the particular interests of the Aametju-family. The first two aspects are bound to impress viziers of later generations, e.g. Amenemopet and Paser.

It is evident that the commonly accepted title of the text does indeed "live up to its standards". It amounts to the description of the duties that should occupy the vizier, as the desired end-result of planned royal policy, in a programmatical and thus propagandistic composition. In this way, it gains basic significance for a true understanding of the essentials of the early NK vizirate for it gives an ideal, comprehensive survey of the office in its function of assisting royal government. Thus, the text enables a profound insight into the theoretical claims and probable achievements of Ahmose's policy in the field of internal government. The result is no less than the disclosure of the fundamental royal view on the nature and range of the early NK vizirate as an ultimate aim of planned policy.

For these reasons, in future any overall study of the vizirate in the period comprising MK–NK may unhesitatingly cast anchor at *The Duties*. It offers a standard of comparison and corroboration of unparalleled quality that dates to the formative period of the NK. The latter aspect conveys an unexpected side-result of our study. To the limited corpus of texts of historical significance that date to this particular period, one may now add a unique text of fundamental importance composed under the reign of king Ahmose.

APPENDIX

The Final Columns of the Installation Text of User and Rekhmire

In the commentary to section 15 (R24) it was argued that the section probably constitutes an intrusion from the Installation-text of User and Rekhmire ¹. We also observed an exchange in the opposite direction ². The final lines of the Installation are altogether out of place there. Their content and nature conform to that of The Duties to such an extent, that we have to consider these lines an intrusion from The Duties. A plausible explanation for the exchange of intrusions has been offered in chapter 4.6.7 and 4.7.

Our study is concerned with The Duties as a composition. Because the final lines of the Installation appear to have belonged to the original composition (temp. Ahmose), they must be included here as a piece of text that supplies additional information on the activities of an early NK vizier. However, a number of observations impose restrictions on the discussion.

Contrary to the impersonal phrasing in 3rd pers. sing. of The Duties, the Installation/Duties-intrusion addresses the vizier in the 2nd pers. sing., a personal approach characteristic of the Installation. The intrusion is introduced by the non-enclitic particle *mk*, a common feature in the Installation but absent from The Duties. To the intrusive part an end-line has been added that fully agrees with the tenor of the Installation but is out of character for our text. Thus, is evident that the intrusion has been adapted or edited to conform to the style of the Installation ³.

Moreover, the same impediments that were found to hamper an analysis of the Final Columns of The Duties ⁴ apply also to the intrusion under discussion. We are deprived of sectional context, we have no formal structure and are at a loss as to its original place and context in The Duties. Present conditions, therefore, impose an "atomistic" approach to the Duties-intrusion. It was established above that this is a dangerous path on which to approach our text and its sentences ⁵. For these reasons, we will deal with the Duties-intrusion in the Installation-text in the same way as with the Final Columns of our text ⁶. A few remarks on the interpretation are added at the end.

INSTALLATION R20 (23) – R21 (24) = W20 – W21.

I Davies, Pl. XV, 20–21; CXVIII, 20–21

-
1. See p. 232ff.; ch. 4.6.7 and 4.7.
 2. See section 15, p. 233 and ch. 4.6.7.
 3. See ch. 4.6.7.
 4. See p. 282ff.
 5. Ibid.
 6. See ch. 1.3.

- Urk IV, 1093, 1–6
 Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 21: fig. 3
- II Gardiner, Rec. Trav. 26 (1904), 16; 18 (with commentary)
 Sethe, *Einsetzung*, 35 (with commentary)
 Davies, *Rekhmire*, 88
 Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 23 (with commentary)
 AEL II, 24
 Luft, in: *Uebersetzung Urk IV*, 429–30

TRANSLITERATION

- R20 *mk* ['] *w²n²b3* [] *hn' rdi*(t)
- R21 *ib.k hnt n3 n hbsw m irt smn iry; ir w3.k hr wh', hr.k h(3)b.k r^a wh'*
 b) *imy-r šntw imy-r šnt 3tww* c); *ir wnn wn wh't(y)f(y)* d) *hr-h3t nb,*
 hr.k šn[.k] sw; [i] h [ir.k] m didi [t] m [hr] .k.

VARIANTS

A detailed list of variants between the parallel-versions of Rekhmire and User⁷ is available in the studies of Gardiner, Sethe and Faulkner quoted above under II. Here only the main variants will be indicated.

- a) Instead of *r* in R., W has the prep. *hr*.
 b) *Wh'* without det. in R; in W det. *Δ*.
 c) The three titles in R look extremely peculiar, cf. Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 28 (62). W has: *imy-r w imy-r šntw whmw*[]. With Faulkner we prefer this version as making more sense. The *whmw*[] of W remain doubtful (Faulkner, o.c., 28 (63)). We opt for *3tww* of R.
 d) Instead of *wn wh't(y)f(y)* of R, W gives *iw*[]. Faulkner restores W as *iw*[*tyfy h*] *r-h3t* (o.c., 28 (64)).

TRANSLATION

- R20 See ...¹ and pay

7. The third version in the tomb of Hapu (TT no. 66) is not preserved in these final parts.

- R21 attention ² to the ³ *hbsw*-fields ⁴ when their establishment ⁵ is made (i.e. of their labour-force?). If you are absent from ⁶ the release (of people?) ⁷, you shall send the overseer of the district, the overseer of police and the guardsmen ⁸ to release (them?). If there shall be anyone who shall make a release ⁹ before (you) ¹⁰, you shall question ¹¹ him. May you act according to that with which you have been charged ¹².

NOTES

- 1 The signs preceding *hn'* are unintelligible, cf. Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 28 (59).
- 2 For the construction, cf. ch. 2.4.2. For *rdi' ib hnt*, "to pay attention to", cf. Sethe, *Einsetzung*, 35-6.
- 3 Lack of context forbids us to indicate whether *n3* is used as an anaphorous or a determinative pronoun, see section 1, p. 23; ch. 2.4.2.
- 4 For *hbsw*, commonly rendered "ploughlands" but probably better "freshly acquired arable lands", see p. 156 note 43; p. 174 note 3; Hayes, PLMK, 27ff.; P. Reisner I, 37; II, 32; 41; III, 19; IV, 10; Schenkel, *Bewässerungsrev.*, 32-4; Sethe, *Einsetzung*, 36; Meeks, in: *Hom. Sauneron I*, 252 n. 63; Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 15; Graefe, CDE XLVIII no. 95 (1973), 39 n. 2; Helck, *Mat. II*, 290-1.
The term denotes fields that have recently been brought (back) to arable cultivation (possibly by means of irrigation). They are crown property (in the 18th dyn. also transferred to temples, cf. Graefe, o.c.). They function as government-created and government-operated state farmlands to which men can be assigned temporarily (as corvee) or permanently (as a penalty). The fields are attested in both MK and 18th dyn. In the Installation/Duties-intrusion they occur in conjunction with a *imy-r w*, a feature also attested in the P. Reisner II. In addition, see below notes 7-8.
- 5 For *smn*, "to establish, to confirm" with regard to fields, cf. Meeks, Donations, 613 n. 25. The caus. 2-lit. verb *smn* has a fem. inf. Therefore, we are dealing here with the noun, attested from the 18th dyn. onward (Wb IV, 135, 2-3). The exact nature of the operation escapes us here. With regard to the suggestion of the following note, one could perhaps think in terms of "to establish (the labour-force)" or the like, rather than of an operation pertaining to the fields themselves such as "to establish (boundaries)" or the like.
- 6 Alternatively, one might perhaps render: "if you come to release (them?)", taking *w3(i)* as "to come to the condition of" (Wb I, 246, 5-9). This could fit the context (see below) quite well. However, we do not know of any instance in which *w3(i)*, in this sense, is construed with *hr*, instead of the usual *r*.
- 7 Most scholars quoted above under I and II have rendered *wh'* in the unparalleled sense "to investigate". However, in conjunction with *hbsw*-fields (cf. note 4), the P. Brooklyn 35.1446 attests *wh'* as "to release, to set free (people from confinement or forced labour)", see Hayes, PLMK, 44. In that document *wh'* denotes the release of people held "hostage" as security or indemnity for deserted statute-labourers (Hayes, PLMK, 34ff.; 64ff.). The deserters had

been assigned before their flight to corvee-work on particular *hbsw*-fields; the "hostages" were confined to the "great prison" (*hnrt wr*) or some local "prison"; the order for their release was issued to the "great prison" by the vizier.

Whether we are dealing in our passage with a comparable event remains uncertain through lack of context, but it certainly looks plausible. If so, *wh'* could refer to either the release of statute-labourers from *hbsw*-fields, or the release of "hostages" held in their place (as in the P. Brooklyn). Our context would favour the first option.

- 8 For the *imy-r w*, "overseer of the district", see section 1, p. 50ff.; section 9, p. 175; ch. 3.2.1. The official was found to be in charge of security and law and order. In R4 his area of competence was the residence-city. Other officials bearing this title exercised their powers in other specific areas, viz. the emplacements of institutions to which they were attached. There is no way to determine the area of competence of the present *imy-r w*, because the location and the institutional category of the *hbsw*-fields are not indicated. We would seem to be dealing with a general statement valid for all *hbsw*-fields in Egypt and thus for all "overseers of the district". In the P. Reisner II an *imy-w* is in charge of *hbsw*-fields (P. Reisner II, 32; 41).

For *imy-r šnt*, "overseer of police", see section 1, p. 50ff.; ch. 3.2.1. Comparable in function to the above *imy-r w*, in R4 and R25 his area of competence was found to be the *pr-nsu*. Other office-holders were attached to different institutions. Thus the same argument as above applies to the *imy-r šnt*.

For the *štww*, "guardsmen" (or the like) in a semi-military sense, and for the present passage, see Berlev, RdE 23 (1971), 23-48 (esp. p. 35-6). The lacuna after *štww (whmw)* in W suggests that the title originally may have been followed by an additional phrase (for which, see Berlev, o.c.). In case we have to read *whmw*, compare p. 326 n. 1.

- 9 For *ir wnn wn wh't(y)ff(y)*, cf. Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 28 (64).
10 Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 22: fig. 3; 28 (64) has *hr-h3t.k*, but Davies, Pl. XV; XCVIII has *hr-h3t nb*, with *nb* generalizing the person implied in the protasis. We follow Davies. The prep. *hr-h3t* seems to convey a temporary sense, cf. Faulkner, o.c. and FCD, 162.

- 11 For *šnt*, "to question, to interrogate", see section 5, p. 115.

- 12 The restoration follows Faulkner, JEA 41 (1955), 28 (65); the translation follows AEL II, 24.

In short, we seem to be dealing with a viziral task and an outline of the proper procedure with regard to the discharge of people from statutory labour on *hbsw*-fields (after they had fulfilled their obligations?). The vizier may delegate the supervision of the release to local security officials. He questions anyone affecting his monopoly in this respect. *Hbsw*-fields seem to be the concern of the vizier, and thus corvee-labour by civilians on these state fields would seem to fall under his charge.

The topic of *hbsw*-fields may be compared with the topic of *šdw*-fields in section 10 of The Duties. Both are state-owned fields for which the vizier bears the ultimate responsibility. Thus, in the context of our analysis his tasks in this respect come under the third aspect of the vizier's work, viz. his function as deputy to the king in matters involving i.a. the material assets of Egypt (cf. ch. 3.2.3).

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Handwritten text in a script, likely Devanagari, arranged in two columns. The text is dense and appears to be a formal document or a religious text. The right column contains a large, stylized character or symbol at the top, possibly a religious icon or a decorative element. The left column contains a large, stylized character or symbol at the bottom, possibly a religious icon or a decorative element. The text is written in a cursive style, with many ligatures and variations in character size. The overall appearance is that of a historical manuscript or a religious text.



[illegible]

7)  

8)
?

[illegible]

(12.)

97


13)  
 
 
 
 
 
 
 
 
 
 
 
 
 
 

A vertical strip of 28 pictographs from the Voynich manuscript. The symbols are arranged in a single column and include various depictions of birds, plants, and abstract shapes. Some symbols are enclosed in rectangular frames, while others are standalone. The style is consistent with the other pages, featuring simple black lines on a white background.

金

12)                                    

A vertical strip of a papyrus scroll, likely from the Voynich manuscript, showing a series of symbols and signs. The symbols include various birds (possibly swans or geese), fish, and geometric shapes like squares and circles. The scroll is bound in a dark material, and the symbols are drawn in a dark ink on a light background.

15)

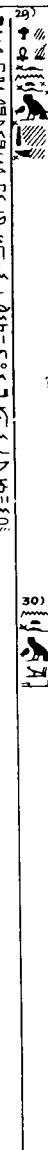
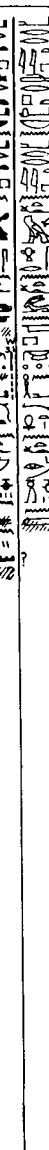
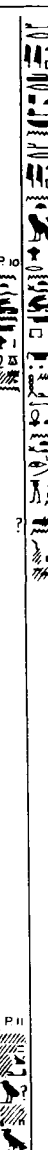
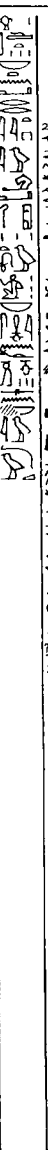
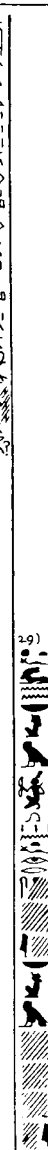
A vertical strip of a papyrus scroll, showing various signs and symbols. The strip is divided into sections by horizontal lines. The top section contains a small figure of a person. Below this is a section with a large, stylized symbol. The middle section contains a series of smaller, repeating symbols. The bottom section contains a large, stylized symbol, similar to the one in the middle section.

(6)

Figure 6: A vertical strip of a manuscript page showing a series of small, stylized drawings or symbols arranged vertically. The symbols include various geometric shapes, lines, and small figures, possibly representing a sequence or a list. The text "(6)" is written at the top of the strip.

[illegible]

A vertical strip of a papyrus scroll, likely from the Book of the Dead, featuring various symbols and figures. The symbols include a bird, a fish, a human figure, and other hieroglyphic elements. The scroll is decorated with a repeating pattern of papyrus leaves and flowers.

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